DC Dems Fall Short

Inside: New District Maps

California JOURNAL

January 2002
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State Net Publications

Redrawing California

An incumbent protection plan

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responsabilidad

Adults have an important responsibility to children to communicate accurate information about healthy adolescent sexuality, abstinence, contraception and disease prevention. We need to encourage young people to act responsibly in all areas of their lives, but particularly when it comes to their sexual behavior.

One of the ways to do this is to give them the information and tools they need to make healthy, informed decisions.

The reality is that many teens choose to be sexually active. Providing accurate information and access to contraceptives allows sexually active teens to be responsible for their health and their future. **What we can do:** Dedicate time and resources to programs in your community that help teens make responsible decisions and avoid unhealthy behavior. Support policies that encourage teaching comprehensive sexuality education in our schools and communities. Help the teens in your family develop healthy values and attitudes about their own sexuality and learn how to prevent unplanned pregnancies through healthy, responsible sexual behavior. Provide a healthy future for all young people by supporting community health services that meet teenagers' needs, including making contraceptives easily accessible to sexually active teens.

GET REAL!
ABOUT TEEN PREGNANCY

Teen pregnancy is also an adult problem. Let's solve it together.

To learn more, visit our website at www.letsgetreal.org

The "Get Real About Teen Pregnancy" public education campaign is funded by a grant to Deen+Black from The California Wellness Foundation.

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california JOURNAL

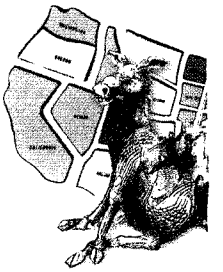
January 2002
Volume XXXIII, Number 1

The new map

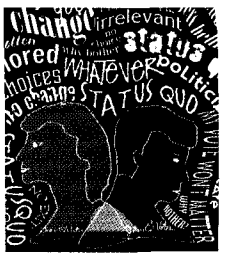
By David Lesher

Is skin color essential to political representation, or can an Anglo properly serve a Latino community? Does a status quo reapportionment adequately reflect Latino growth in the last decade? In this issue, *CJ* writers and editors explore the 2001 reapportionment and the critical issues it raises about how California will accommodate Latino growth. From Washington, an insightful and revealing story by Carl Cannon looks behind the scenes at the latest mapmaking process and poses difficult challenges ahead for the Democratic and Republican parties. Our point-counterpoint gets the story from the source — the Mexican American Legal and Educational Fund and the state Senate leadership. Both sides explain their complaints and show the acrimony behind a pending lawsuit. Most important, this edition has a special pull-out section on reapportionment that will be an essential political reference for the coming decade. It maps all 177 new districts for the state Assembly, Senate, U.S. House and the Board of Equalization. It also provides the political data on each seat that will help explain government performance — not just partisan registration, but geography, ethnic populations, voting history and a political bottom line. Finally, we debut two new pages in this issue — Calwatch, a look at fallout in California from September 11; and Public Opinions, a sample of recent election poll findings from the Public Policy Institute of California's "Statewide Survey."

Cover by Meg McAneny

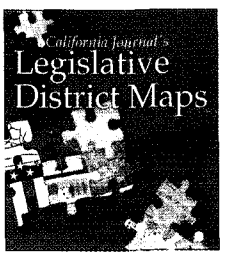


8 **Carving up the Golden State**
If congressional Democrats expected a redistricting gold mine in California, why did they sign off on a status-quo plan?
By Carl M. Cannon



12 **No room for voters**
After the 2001 reapportionment patched together so many safe legislative and congressional districts, how excited will voters be on Election Day?
By Lisa Plendl

38 **Point/counterpoint: Redistricting challenge**
The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund wants the courts to sanction a few more Latino-dominant districts; those responsible for redrawing maps say ample public hearings resulted in more than a fair shake for Latinos.



***California Journal's* Legislative District Maps**
This special 20-page center pull-out section features our once-a-decade look at the new districts borne from the 2001 redistricting. Maps, partisan breakdown, racial composition, voting trends and more on every Assembly, Senate, congressional and Board of Equalization district in the state.

Upfront
Token Republicans

Cal Watch
Coping since Sept. 11

The Bottom Line
Registering at the polls
By Susan Rasky

Talking Points
Reagan portfolio; help with backdrops

Southern Exposure
Running from the mayor's perch
By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Public Opinions
Voters satisfied; Bush ascends

D.C. Perspective
GOP prospects in California
By Marc Sandalow

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umbrage

The wild card. If you live in Palos Verdes Estates or Rancho Palos Verdes, the new district maps for Congress, state Senate, Assembly and Board of Equalization have given you a strong dose of diversity. Seems your towns were used by Democratic mapmakers as a kind of Republican wild card when pasting together districts in southern Los Angeles County. Need a few Republicans stitched to a district? Take Palos Verdes. Need to park GOP voters in a solid Democratic seat to preserve the friendly edge in surrounding districts? Find a corridor to Palos Verdes. The most hilarious example is Senate District 25, which derives most of its population from ethnic neighborhoods in Inglewood and Compton. But a narrow ribbon of SD 25 snakes down I-710 to Long Beach where it picks up the port and edges along the waterfront before ballooning north along the coast to swallow the two Palos Verdes, as well as tony Rolling Hills Estates — "communities of interest" with other district residents in Gardena, Lawndale, Hawthorne, Inglewood and Compton, no doubt. And the only piece of southern Los Angeles County *not* included in Board of Equalization 4 is — you guessed it — the Palos Verdes and an adjacent sliver of Long Beach. As a result of this and other creative endeavors, Palos Verdes Estates and Rancho Palos Verdes will be represented by a Jewish Assembly Democrat, white Republican congressman, black Democratic state senator and white Republican member of the Board of Equalization.

From the editor.

On the day before Alan Cranston won his last election in 1986, we stopped the campaign bus and took a picture — for history. The race was dead even in the polls and President Ronald Reagan, an old California nemesis, was going all out for the GOP. Cranston was Majority Whip in the U.S. Senate. And he was considered a dinosaur — an unabashed, big government liberal trying to win a fourth term at the height of the Reagan revolution.

Today, Cranston's razor-thin victory is still a favorite bar stool war story for those involved. It was also my first campaign as a political reporter in California, and it made me a junkie. I loved the strategic game of politics — how Cranston used police escorts to look powerful and Hollywood celebrities to look hip. And I was awed by the stakes — peace and war, pollution and wilderness, rich and poor.

Alan Cranston, press, staff and friends, 1986. David Lesher, front row, third from right

It was fun and exciting. Even more, it was important. Democracy means free elections, but the right to vote is just a seed without sunlight if it isn't combined with a free press. A choice is a byproduct of information.

My role covering politics and government at the *Los Angeles Times* for most of the last 15 years was a tremendous honor and a daunting responsibility. I feel the same way as I publish this issue of the *California Journal*, my first as editor. *CJ* is positioned like few other publications to take an in-depth look at our state's critical issues. At the same time, I hope we can also remind you about the fun and excitement.

— *David Lesher*

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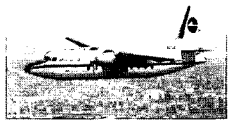
Everything *did* change on September 11. We're still lining up for movies like Harry Potter and cooking holiday feasts. We've resumed nearly normal lives as students, parents, commuters, shoppers and employees. But life is not the same. On many different levels, and in big and small ways, we are changing. With this new feature, called Calwatch, the *California Journal* will illustrate some of the ways our lives are different. Some of the attacks' impact is on our economy and the reactions of business or government. Some involves security and the recalibration of law enforcement in a free society. And some registers on a more personal level, reflected in our new fears as well in our demonstrations of compassion. Not since World War II have we suffered such an attack and then, with the atomic bomb, learned to live our daily lives under such a threat. That experience changed the world, it changed America and it profoundly charged California. For the next several months and as long as our evolution continues, Calwatch will look at our changing state, offering a pause for us to reflect as well a record for our children to remember.

"My advice is not to give in to fear and anxiety." There are "probably more chances of being hurt in a car crash than there are being hurt by a terrorist incident."

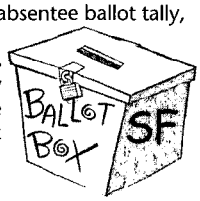
— George V. Vinson, newly appointed California terrorism czar

California post-September 11

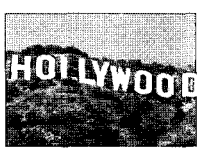
Air phobia
Train ridership jumps 20% while air passengers at LAX and SFO International Airports decline by more than 30%.



Anthrax angst
Anthrax fears in San Francisco disrupt the absentee ballot tally, delaying election results on a closely contested vote on public power.



Help from Hollywood
White House advisor Karl Rove meets with entertainment moguls in Beverly Hills to discuss ways Hollywood can promote America's war on terrorism.



Military on guard
245 National Guard soldiers are deployed to 23 California airports and four bridges.

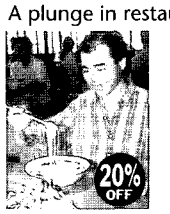
Teamwork
LA Mayor James Hahn gathers 26 area legislators to discuss security plans and projected costs of more than $10 million.

Silicon Valley connection
A jailed, former Silicon Valley resident, Khalid Abu-al-Dahab, is identified as a California recruiter for Osama bin Laden.

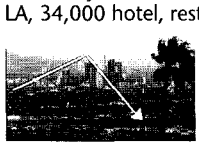
Arab backlash
Attorney General Bill Lockyer says the state is investigating 182 anti-Arab hate crimes committed in September.

High-tech security
Fresno Yosemite Airport installs the first face-recognition security system in the state despite criticism from the American Civil Liberties Union.

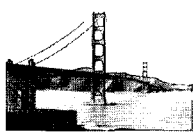
Business tanks
A plunge in restaurant dining spurs Los Angeles restaurant owners to launch Dine Out LA Day, offering 20% discounts.



Out of a job
A Milken Institute study predicts California will lose 263,700 jobs in the next year because of Sept. 11. In LA, 34,000 hotel, restaurant and airport workers are laid off or have hours cut.



Bridge suspense
Gov. Davis warns of a "credible threat" to California's four suspension bridges. National Guard soldiers are deployed and trucks are stopped for inspection.



Patriotic surge
LA police attribute a three-fold rise in the number of officer job applicants to a patriotic surge.

Legislative fix
The legislature considers a bioterrorism bill as nine different Assembly committees schedule terrorism-related hearings.

Citizenship papers
A new federal law requires airport security screeners to be U.S. citizens, causing a dramatic impact in San Francisco where 80% are foreign nationals.

Interest in Islam
Courses in Islam, teach-ins and a Wall of Reflection appear on California State University campuses.

fallout

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Election Day registration

by Susan Rasky

For decades, civic-minded souls have brooded over declining voter turnout. They have earnestly and endlessly debated cures for the apathy, cynicism, confusion and disillusion presumed to be eating away at representative democracy.

During those same decades, political scientists who study voting behavior have taken pleasure in debunking conventional wisdom about who votes, who doesn't and why. Non-voters, they tell us, would produce much the same results in elections as those who go to the polls. Higher turnout does not benefit Democrats, and although age, education and income are important predictors of voting (those who do being older, better educated and wealthier than those who don't), the biggest impediment is the requirement to register.

The latter was partly responsible in 1993 for the so-called "Motor Voter Law," which required states to include voter registration with other state or federal agency forms, particularly driver's license applications and renewals.

Congressional Republicans spent years opposing it in the mistaken belief that letting folks register in welfare or unemployment offices would increase Democratic turnout. Democrats mistakenly thought so, too. As it happens, motor vehicle departments are the registration hot spot because the main beneficiaries of the law are two overlapping groups of people who form the vast majority of non-voters: those who have moved within two years of election day and those under 30 years old.

As Professor Raymond Wolfinger of the University of California, Berkeley, one of the country's leading scholars on voting behavior, points out, the driver's license provisions boost overall voter turnout by perhaps 5 percent in general elections.

Maybe not. But what if registration were really easy, something that could happen right at the polling place on the day of the election? Six states — Maine, Minnesota and Wisconsin since the mid-1970s, and Idaho, New Hampshire and Wyoming since the 1994 elections — already permit election-day registration.

Inspired partly by the close 2000 presidential election, registration reformers — Democrats and their traditional interest-group allies — are breathing heavily about possibilities in New York and Connecticut. But California could actually become state number seven.

As usual, the action here is on the initiative ballot; November 2002 — if signature gathering goes as planned. And, as is becoming usual, the financial muscle behind the initiative is a millionaire with high-tech credentials. That would be Taco Bell heir Rob McKay of San Francisco who although making his first foray into big-time politics, knew enough to show up at a consultant's door with private polling data in hand.

His initiative was drafted by two of the state's veteran political lawyers — Democrat Lance Olson and Republican Chip Nielsen — and the campaign, run by Democrat Gale Kaufman, has gone to great lengths to work with county election officials and the election fraud watchdogs in the Secretary of State's Office.

But what if registration were really easy, something that could happen right at the polling place on the day of the election?

Efforts by Democratic lawmakers in Sacramento to enact election-day registration last year crumpled in the face of opposition from Governor Gray Davis and election officials, including Secretary of State Bill Jones, but not before they changed California law to move the registration closing date from 29 days before an election to 15. That provision makes county election officials crazy because they have to process absentee ballots while simultaneously rushing to verify registration forms.

McKay's initiative would push the deadline back to 29 days before the election but give voters the choice of registering in person at a county office in the four weeks leading up to election day or at their own polling place on election day. The authors debated permitting same-day registrants to change party affiliation as well but, according to Nielsen, decided against it. "It seemed like a back door way of having an open primary, and we just didn't want to pick that fight," he said.

Nielsen, long active in Republican politics, says he's not the house Republican on this measure, just a lawyer trying to move voting procedures past the 18th Century. "We can put people on the moon; we can wage high tech wars and dot-com revolutions, but we can't figure out how to let an 18 year old vote when his birthday is less than 29 days before the election? That makes no sense."

Susan Rasky teaches at the University of California, Berkeley, Graduate School of Journalism. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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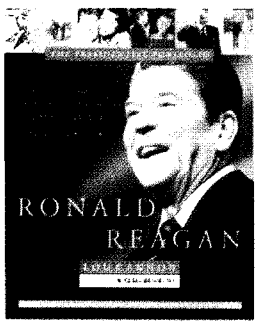
Excerpts:

From the bookshelf

Ronald Reagan: The Presidential Portfolio
By Lou Cannon
PublicAffairs



California Journal contributing editor Lou Cannon is the definitive biographer of the nation's 40th president. The first of his four books on Ronald Reagan appeared in 1969 ("Ronnie and Jesse") and explained the then-California governor's relationship with a powerful contemporary — Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh. He later wrote "Reagan" (1982) and "President Reagan: The Role of a Lifetime" (1991, 2000). Now comes this impressive, 304-page volume — second in a presidential library series issued by PublicAffairs

Lavishly illustrated with photos from the Reagan Library in Simi Valley, "The Presidential Portfolio" also contains items such as copies of Reagan's hand-edited speeches and a hand-written reply to a South Carolina teenager who requested federal funds after his mother declared his bedroom a disaster area. The book includes a audio compact disc of Reagan speeches and selected commentary

Few journalists know Reagan as well as Cannon, who began covering him in 1965 for the *San Jose Mercury News* when Reagan first sought the governorship. He subsequently was senior White House correspondent for *The Washington Post* throughout the Reagan presidency. For this book, Cannon, ever the journalist, has added another layer of understanding based on newly released source material and recent interviews, making this illustrated volume much more than a companion piece to the earlier work. It stands alone as an fresh study of a complex public figure.

Media Watch:

Help for Hollywood

One man's trash is another man's good fortune. Even in the case of musty old state buildings otherwise left to the dust bin of history. Last year when legislators created the State Theatrical Arts Partnership, qualified Hollywood film producers gained free access to surplus state properties as part of an effort to retain movie-making on Golden State soil.

In recent years, movie producers increasingly trotted over the border for live-action shooting, taking advantage of lucrative Canadian subsidies. Now California is ready to meet their match by offering full cooperation and reimbursement for certain fees when film producers use state properties as their backdrops.

That's how the old state-owned Metropolitan Hospital in Norwalk, several historic houses in Pasadena and the old state headquarters in Southern California found new life and utility.

Come January, look for Anthony Hopkins roaming the corridors of the old 10-story State Building on South Broadway in downtown Los Angeles as he makes a return appearance as Hannibal Lecter, a cannibalistic psychiatrist, who debuted in *Silence of the Lambs*. This time Hopkins plays the role of a younger Lecter in *Red Dragon*, a multi-million dollar feature film by Universal Pictures.

Quotables.....

"I hope [Republicans] do get more in tune with what's going on. The farther out they get, the easier they are to beat. ...I like a vibrant vigorous debate. ...I just don't think this is good for our democracy."

— Assembly Speaker Robert M. Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles) in an interview for the California Journal

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California div

In the end, Washington Democrats decided to fortify their districts in the California reapportionment rather than try for a few more seats that might help the party win back the U.S. House. That was fine with Republicans, who now believe that no news is good news from California. But for both parties, the result may produce unintended effects for years to come.

By Carl M. Cannon

In Washington, a hint that the 2002 California reapportionment had the potential for causing bad blood inside the Democratic Party came two years ago in a private dining room on the House side of the U.S. Capitol. There, Representative Bob Filner (D-San Diego) sat at his customary table ordering his customary meal, which is tuna salad. But he did so in Spanish.

"*Esta bien,*" replied Rosa, his customary waitress. She went on to ask if the congressman wants iced tea. "*Si,*" Filner replied. "*Gracias.*"

"*De nada, señor,*" she answered; it's nothing. But it's not nothing. Filner wasn't merely being friendly to an immigrant waitress. Actually, he's practicing a language he has been studying seriously enough to do interviews for Spanish-language television. Although Filner represents a dependably Democratic district in Congress and boasts impeccable liberal credentials, the onetime Hubert Humphrey aide figures his very survival in politics depends on an ability to connect with a Latino audience. He is almost certainly right.

Like every California Democrat, Filner witnessed a conspicuous change in the demographic makeup of his district over the past 10 years. In his case, it was

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ided

enough of a change that Democratic Party bosses tinkered with it in a way that makes it harder for a Latino to challenge him in a primary. This fine-tuning was part of the deal struck by Republicans and Democrats over reapportionment. The new district lines, drawn by Los Angeles consultant Michael Berman, brother of Los Angeles Democratic congressman Howard L. Berman, create one new Los Angeles district designed for a Latino Democrat while protecting 50 of the 52 House incumbents. This was no easy feat; the most salient feature of the map drawn by the Brothers Berman is that it may have left the nation's largest state *without a single competitive congressional district*.

The fallout was immediate. It included some horrid publicity from Representative Loretta Sanchez's (D-Garden Grove) admission that the 32 California House Democrats had promised to pay Michael Berman's firm

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$20,000 apiece, apparently with the understanding that he'd guarantee them winnable districts. "Twenty thousand is nothing to keep your seat," Sanchez told the *Orange County Register* in an odd but refreshing bout of candor. "I spend $2 million every election...."

The second shoe to drop came from national Democrats who groused privately that, in their zeal to ensure their own re-elections, California's Democrats passed up a chance to carve out another Democratic district or two — and thereby help the Democrats retake Congress.

The nation's most prominent Mexican-American organization thinks so little of the Berman Brothers' plan that it filed suit under the Voting Rights Act to have two of the districts changed, including Berman's (see page 38).

Finally, good-government types derided the map as the worst kind of smoke-filled-room politics. "It appears that the Legislature has decided to relieve us of the burden of elections," Claremont McKenna College government professor John J. Pitney Jr. observed dryly. "This is a classic incumbent gerrymander."

But the map, which is, indeed, the product of a smoke-filled room (Michael Berman is a chain smoker), was approved at the highest levels in both parties. House Democratic Leader Richard A. Gephardt signed off on it. So did White House aide Karl Rove, President George W. Bush's political adviser. But if the two major political parties chose to play it safe, the 2000 census and the 2000 election returns demonstrated that the demographics and politics of California are ever fluid. This redistricting process promises to have lingering ripple effects on both parties — and perhaps not the intended effects — for years to come.

Yes, we have no bonanza

In the run-up to the state-by-state redistricting, national Democrats expressed hopes that California would produce a bonanza of new House seats for them. This optimism was fueled by three seemingly irresistible objects: First, California, historically a swing state, has been trending heavily Democratic for a decade. Second, Democrats' control of the Assembly, the state Senate and the governor's office gave them control of the process. Third, the surge in Latino political participation has been breaking disproportionately the Democrats' way.

For those reasons, officials at the Democratic National Campaign Committee were hoping for as many as three or four new Democratic districts out of the California reapportionment. "California was going to make Dick Gephardt the speaker of the House," said one former Clinton White House aide. "At least that's what we thought."

There also was a historical precedent. Twenty years ago, Representative Phillip Burton (D-San Francisco) drew a diabolically effective statewide map that changed the breakdown of the delegation from 22–21 Democratic to 28-17 in the Democrats' favor. Republicans learned from that 1982 nightmare. In 1991, with Republican Pete Wilson as governor, they fought for a plan that resulted in 20 seats considered safe for Republicans, 18 for Democrats and 14 competitive. This time, without a Republican governor to protect them, Republicans threatened to put reapportionment on the ballot as a referendum issue if the Democrats pushed too hard.

So were the national Democrats' expectations for redistricting unrealistic? Probably, for as it turns out, those three seemingly irresistible forces butted up against some competing political realities — three immovable objects, if you will.

The first of these barriers was as immutable as mathematics. In fact, it stemmed from an early misconception among some Democrats that the census would give California its usual raft of new seats. It didn't happen. Certainly, the state continued to grow. The 2000 Census count showed that California increased by 4.2 million people since 1990, a gain of over 13 percent. This was the largest raw gain of any state in the nation and a slightly higher percentage than the nation as a whole — but it resulted in only one additional congressional seat. The reason is that the more populous a state becomes, the harder it is to add congressional seats. When California's 4 million new people are spread over 52 congressional districts, the effect is not as profound as in smaller states. Thus four states with smaller total gains in population than California — Arizona, Georgia, Florida and Texas — actually gained *two* seats while California only gained one, going from 52 to 53.

"Everyone was sort of shocked in looking at the numbers, as to why we didn't gain more," said Representative Sam Farr (D-Carmel), dean of California's Democratic House delegation.

Price of success

The second problem for the Democrats, if one can call it that, stemmed from their sweeping election successes in California in 2000. Essentially, they already had picked off all the marginal seats available. Representative Brian Bilbray (R-San Diego) was de-

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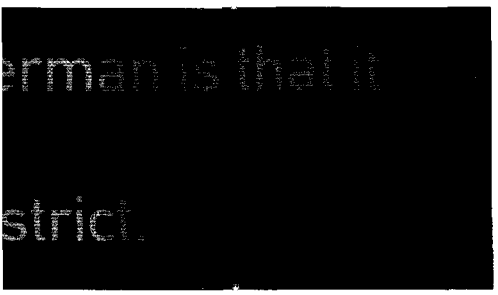
feated by Assemblywoman Susan Davis (D-San Diego). In Glendale, Republican incumbent James Rogan lost to Democratic state Senator Adam Schiff, while Palos Verdes Democrat Jane Harman ousted Republican incumbent Steven Kuykendall. In the Silicon Valley, another Democratic



assemblyman Mike Honda, defeated GOP Assemblyman James Cunneen in an open seat than had been held by Republican Tom Campbell. The delegation went from a 28-24 Democratic advantage to 32-20.

"That was our redistricting," says Pam Barry, the delegation staff member most knowledgeable about the process. "We did it at the ballot box."

In Washington, stunned Republicans agreed. The only upside to this carnage, they reckoned, was that it couldn't get much worse. "In California, we've already had a blood bath," John Feehery, spokesman for Republican House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, explained. "It's going to be pretty hard for them to take anything more out of our hide."

But greed is human nature, and as they surveyed the 2000 election returns, national Democrats immediately began thinking of more damage they could do in 2002 through redistricting when Governor Gray Davis and his near veto-proof Democratic majority in the Legislature went to work. Certainly, Democrats would get the new, 53rd seat, a heavily Latino district in Los Angeles County, but then the national Democrats ran into the third, great immovable object: the self-preservation instincts of incumbents.

"Loretta Sanchez put it in the most raw form, but the fact is that as a delegation we hired Michael Berman as a consultant to protect our interests," explained one California Democratic congressman. "We decided, as a [Democratic] delegation, to do this. We had meetings, we had discussions, we had a vote to hire him. We said, 'Nobody can do this but Berman.' If you divided his $600,000 fee by 30 (Democrats), it comes to $20,000 each. A couple of people didn't pay, but he protected every incumbent, basically."

The final plan had to be sold not only to the delegation — on both sides of the aisle — but also to the Legislature, where Berman also worked his magic to help incumbents, and to the Republican National Committee, the White House and Democratic House leadership in Washington. Of the 52 California members of Congress, only one Republican, 70-year-old Republican Steve Horn of Long Beach, was gerrymandered out of a seat. Horn took one look at the Berman Brothers' map and announced his retirement. Controversial Democrat Gary Condit also saw his Central Valley district drawn with someone else in mind, although he has not complained publicly about it.

Two others registered concerns, one parochial and one philosophical. Brad Sherman squawked that Berman had seen to it that the Latino population in his San Fernando Valley district had gone from 20 percent to 52 percent while Berman's own percentage of Latinos had been reduced from 65 percent to 40 percent. "Howard Berman stabbed me in the back!" Sherman complained. To placate him, Berman split the difference in a hastily redrawn map.

The other delegation critic was Representative Bill Thomas (R-Bakersfield) — but not because he had any complaint about his own, still-safe, district. Thomas' objections were more philosophical. He believes that an entire slate of uncompetitive congressional races gives voters no real opportunity to be heard, and that by locking themselves into a minority status this way, Republicans were compromising their own chances of making a comeback in California. Moreover, Thomas also thinks that, at some point, Republicans simply must attract significant Latino votes and that by agreeing to place most of the state's Mexican-Americans voters in uncompetitive Democratic districts, Republicans risk distancing themselves from these voters in ways that make it hard to make inroads even if something good happens at the top of the ticket in the future.

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Short-term pragmatism

But Thomas made no headway in his own party, where short-term pragmatism prevailed. "This map is a victory for the national Republican Party," says RNC communications director Steven Schmidt. "California is the only state in the country where the maps are being redrawn where one party has complete control of the process and we didn't lose any seats."

This is the argument the California Republicans successfully made to national GOP leaders. Rove, still spooked over Bush's dismal performance in California in 2000, agreed that Republicans should cut their losses and accept the Bermans' deal — and met with Berman in secret to shake hands on it.

Meanwhile, Howard Berman and Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-San Francisco) were selling the Berman plan to Gephardt and the Democrat Congressional Campaign Committee Chairman, Representative Martin Frost of Texas, on similar, tactical grounds. We are consolidating our position at our all-time high-water mark, the Californians said. This plan will solidify the still-tenuous gains made in 2000 on Election Day, while adding one more Democratic seat. That translates into 33 sure-thing seats for the next 10 years. To try to capture three or four more seats required spreading Democratic voters more thinly, and that eventually might put seven or eight districts at risk. According to one source, the disappointed national Democrats responded by insisting that not as much DCCC money would be available to California's Democratic candidates for next year's election. The Californians' view was that, with the Berman-made districts, they won't need money from Washington. Okay, then Gephardt and Frost replied: The money will go to other states.

"Am I satisfied?" Frost mused in an interview with *California Journal*. "Actually, we had always hoped for one additional seat in California, but we're quite satisfied. We picked up four seats last year and one more in redistricting, and this plan has the effect of strengthening those gains. The DCCC devoted some money trying to take those seats and now we have them, and we'll use those resources in competitive races elsewhere."

For their part, Californians still bristle at any suggestion that they let the party down. "It's ridiculous for them to say they wanted more," said one California Democrat. "They said in 2000 that if California got four or five seats they'd take over the House. Well, we got four seats and they didn't pick up the House. This time around, quite frankly, we took care of ourselves — and we got the fifth seat they asked for in 2000. They ought to be thanking us."

In the end, the leadership didn't exactly thank the Californians as much as accept their plan. "I had a number of conversations with Gephardt," recalls Assembly Speaker Robert Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles), who figured he could squeeze out another Democratic seat if he had to — but whose main concerns were harmony in the Democratic fold and avoiding litigation with Republicans. "There was discussion about making up ground in California, trying to pick up more Democratic seats. But that changed in talking to a number of members of the delegation. ...I called Gephardt and Gephardt says, 'No, I'm on board with everybody at the 20-33 plan.' I said okay."

Are voters dissed by redistricting?

By Lisa Plendl

Legislators played it safe in this round of reapportionment, maintaining a status quo split between Democrats and Republicans. With so few competitive seats, will voters lose interest in having their say at the polls?

It's been widely hailed as Sacramento's "incumbent protection plan." But should California voters lose sleep over the state's recent approval of one of the most incumbent-friendly redistricting plans ever?

It depends on where you sit. In September, legislators approved a blueprint that protects the current balance of seats in the Assembly (50 Democrats, 30 Republicans) and state Senate (26 Democrats, 14 Republicans). The status quo was also preserved in Congress, although Democrats are expected to gain one additional seat (33 Democrats, 20 Republicans) that was granted to California following the 2000 U.S. Census.

Democrats and Republicans alike gave a nod to the new map with relatively little argument — a far cry from the last redistricting when bickering and indecision between

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The Latino challenge

So, everyone got what they wanted, right?

Not quite. California likely will have seven or eight Latino members in Congress. This is progress, but with 32 percent of the state's population, some Latino activists think it's not enough. Moreover, in its lawsuit, the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund asserts that the Bermans manipulated their map to deliberately dilute Latino voting strength for the sole purpose of making it more difficult for Latino candidates.

"And that," says Denise Hulett, lead counsel for MALDEF on redistricting, "is simply illegal."

The specific districts she has in mind are Berman's and Filner's, which raises unwelcome questions inside the Democratic Party: When the pressures of immigration and birthrates change a district's ethnic makeup to majority Latino, should the representative of that district then be Latino? And, can't a progressive Anglo represent Hispanics in Washington just as well?

MALDEF, understandably, wants to sidestep such divisive questions. Hulett freely concedes that Howard Berman has built an admirable legacy of advocacy on behalf of Mexican farm workers, immigrants and Latinos in general. She claims to not even know which Latino Democrats are eyeing Berman's seat. About Filner, whose seat is 80 percent non-Anglo and coveted by an ambitious Assemblyman Juan Vargas (D-San Diego) — he's challenged Filner in primaries twice already — all Hulett says is: "I understand he's a real good guy."

But if MALDEF claims its lawsuit isn't personal, that's not how it is perceived by either Berman or Filner. "For 30 years in public office, I have not merely voted for but have led the legislative battles to enact issues of importance to the Latino community," Berman said bitterly. "I guess for MALDEF, it's more about skin color and ethnicity than the philosophy and legislators and the governor landed the matter in court.

Anne Henderson, legislative director for the League of Women Voters of California, worries that many voters won't go to the polls if there aren't competitive choices to make. A status quo apportionment plan "says that voter participation doesn't matter much," she said.

"The other problem," she added, "is that there ... may be local issues or ballot measures that suffer from a low turnout at the polls."

Voters shun state races

But Curtis Gans, director of the non-partisan Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, says state races are a relative snooze for voters, who are much more likely to turn out for presidential, gubernatorial and mayoral races — competitions not connected with districting. Gans says

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the quality of representation." Filner complains that the MALDEF lawsuit "is not really Hispanic empowerment. It's Vargas empowerment."

Such sniping can get out of hand, especially when it's cross-cultural. In 1998, a state Senate primary in San Fernando Valley between Richard Katz and Richard Alarcon degenerated into a mud-fest that pitted Jews against Latinos. Alarcon, the victor, later apologized to Katz and has gone out of his way to build bridges between the two communities, even to the point of organizing last year's first-ever Latino-Jewish festival called "Fiesta Shalom." That's a start, but it will take more than kosher tacos to make this tension disappear. All seven of the white Democrats in the Southern California House delegation — including Filner — are Jewish. All seven of their districts have large and increasing Latino populations who, not surprisingly, have spawned a generation of ambitious politicians. Will they wait patiently for Berman's generation to retire and then take over in districts that will be majority Latino? Some will; some won't. Vargas, a man in a hurry, already has publicly called Filner "that ugly guy."

These are just the tip of the passions unleashed by an incumbent-protecting reapportionment process and brought into the open by the MALDEF lawsuit. At stake is whether the California Democratic Party becomes the ineffectual, intellectually stale, racially polarized Democratic Party of New York City that was on full display in the 2001 mayoral race — and which made voters turn their backs in disgust on the Democratic Party. But California Republicans might do well to look to New York, too. If they decide, the way they did in reapportionment, to accept the logic that Latino voters equal Democratic voters (they are already not competitive among blacks) California Republicans will come to resemble their rapidly shrinking and almost irrelevant cousins in the New York City GOP. If that happens, 10 years from now, they will be hard-pressed even to defend their small beachhead of 20 congressional districts.

These, then, are the twin pitfalls of gerrymandering: Self-defeating internal racial politics by Democrats; self-defeating lily-white politicking by the Republicans. Tom Hofeller, the Republican National Committee redistricting honcho recently told the National Conference of State Legislatures: "In the politics of redistricting, politicians get to choose the voters." He's right, but as Bob Filner and every other incumbent House member in California is in the process of learning, when they exercise this power the political parties must be mindful of what they wish for.

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California's status quo plan won't boost overall voter participation but won't do much to deflate it, either.

"We've always ... had (non)competitive districts," he says. "Would voter turnout be better if we had all competitive districts? I don't know. We don't have any way of answering that question."

The view from the Legislature also was mixed. Assembly Speaker Robert M. Hertzberg (D-Los Angeles) agreed that voter turnout is higher when there is a well-funded, competitive race. But he questioned whether the lack of competition would harm the quality of government.

"In a term-limited environment, you're here for 30 seconds anyway, so what difference does it make?" he said with a smile. But he said he understands the concern about status quo districts depressing voter turnout. "It's a legitimate argument," he said. "I don't disagree. These are hard questions."

Kam Kuwata, a consultant to the Assembly Democrats during the redistricting process, says other factors will have much more influence on voter participation — and outcome. "I also run and advise political campaigns, and it's always a difficult challenge to get more voters to participate," he said. "Generally speaking, you have to demonstrate to people that there is a reason for them to participate."

In 1994, then-U.S. House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Georgia) did just that with his so-called Contract with America. Kuwata, then manager for U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein's re-election bid, was primed to help the popular Democrat cruise to certain victory. But with voter sentiment growing for the GOP, Feinstein barely eked out a win.

"So the conventional wisdom is that all these seats are safe," he says. "But there are a number of seats that, who knows which way they might go."

Pols benefit most from gerrymandering

Herb Alexander, emeritus professor of political science at USC, agrees that gerrymandering has more effect on the

continued on page 35

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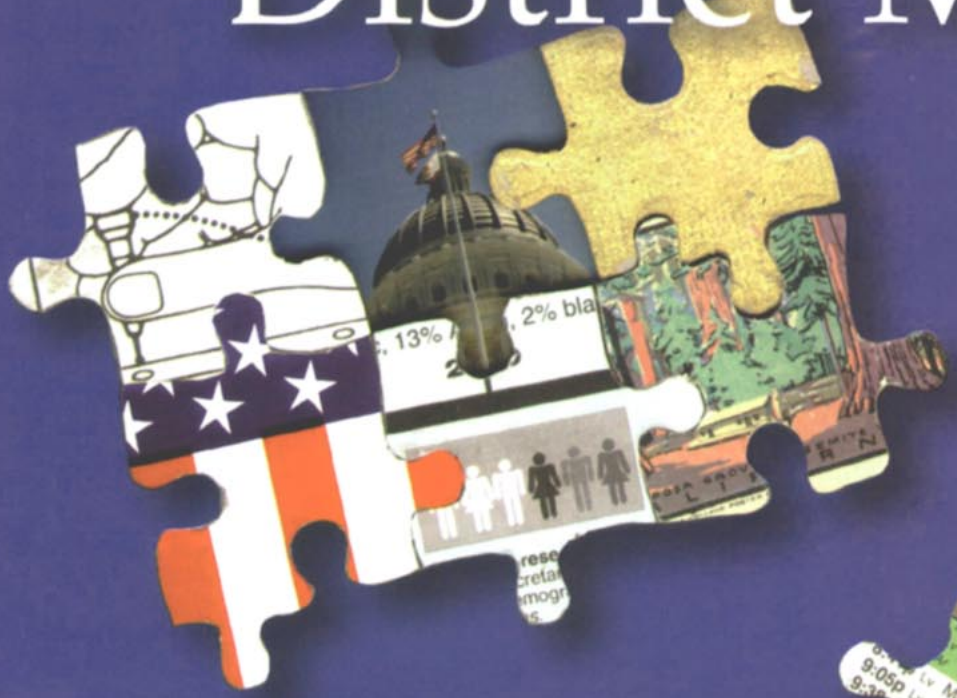
California Journal's

Legislative District Maps



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Introduction

Despite years of anticipation and profound implications for California's future, lawmakers passed the 2002 redistricting plan with scarcely a whisper of dissent. The votes last September in both the state Assembly and the Senate were overwhelming and, in some cases, even unanimous. Finally, the state's entire elected representation — from the far left to the far right of the political spectrum — agreed on something. And the common ground was found for legislation that even its authors acknowledge to be an "incumbent protection plan." As one lawmaker drafting the maps last summer put it: "Our goal is for a status quo reapportionment."

One look at the political and ethnic populations in each of the new districts makes it clear how successful mapmakers were in protecting incumbents. Each of the 173 seats representing California in the Assembly, the Senate and the U.S. House are so concentrated with voters from one party or the other that the margin of difference is more than 10 percent in all but 17 districts. Privately, lawmakers say that level of security is either unprecedented or close to it.

Perhaps even more critical for California's future is the continuing power granted to one party: Democrats. Today, Democrats occupy 50 of 80 Assembly seats, 26 of 40 state Senate seats and 32 of 52 offices in the California congressional delegation. California will gain one congressional seat after the 2002 election because of its growth in the last U.S. Census. After securing that seat for a Democrat, party leaders are confident that they were able to lock in Democratic power at an historic high-water mark. In fact, following the 2000 elections, the party controlled so many seats that state Democratic leaders warned colleagues in Washington, D.C., that they likely could not create any more for the party even if they tried. As a result, California is sure to be dominated by Democratic policies for at least the next decade. This will make it harder for Republicans to raise money because special interest contributors will be reluctant to cross the party in power. And there will be fewer stepping stones in the next decade for Republican candidates who want to seek higher office.

The latest redistricting could not have come at a worse time for the California Republican Party. Just six years ago, it controlled the governor's office and the state Assembly. Now, Republicans hold barely a third (64) of California's 173 legislative seats and only one of the 10 offices elected statewide. That weak political standing left them all but helpless in the redistricting process. But they did have at least three cards to play: The maps require a two-thirds vote for approval in the Legislature, forcing Democrats to win at least a couple of Republican votes; the plan could be forced into court, where Republican governors in 16 of the last 18 years have left the state bench under GOP control; and Republicans control the White House, raising at least the specter of federal intervention if Democrats get too ambitious. That was enough to convince Democrats to seek a bipartisan plan.

Democrats have gained this advantage even though the previous redistricting maps were drawn by the California Supreme Court. A decade ago, Republican Governor Pete Wilson figured the GOP could get a better deal out of the court than it could from the Democratic Legislature. And the court's maps were about as evenly divided as possible. In the Assembly, Democrats had only 30 safe seats and Republicans had 29. The remaining 21 were considered within reach of either party. There was a similar balance in the Senate and the Congress. The court-drawn districts were also geographically compact, unlike the creative shapes that result from a politically drawn plan, like the one in 1981. In that case, the late Phil Burton, then a Democratic congressman from San Francisco, drew a map widely considered a windfall for Democrats. It was modified after a referendum in 1982. Even then, its security for Democrats was short of the protection they secure under the newest maps.

Congress

After winning seven new House seats in the 1991 reapportionment, California gained just one this year. But the way the maps were drawn, there are actually two vacancies — one Democrat and one Republican. Republican Steve Horn of Long Beach was eliminated, largely because Democratic gains in the area made it impossible for the GOP to retain the seat. Democrats used the state's one additional seat to carve another district in Los Angeles, where they expect a Latino to win. In 50 other seats, the district was drawn to suit the incumbent. The only exception was for Gary Condit, the Central Valley Democrat politically scarred by his relationship with a missing female intern. Democrats hoped to urge Condit out of his seat by drawing it with another candidate in mind. A handful of the new seats in Los Angeles and San Diego also are challenged in court by Latino activists who contend that the plan does not reflect the Latino community's growth in population and political participation over the last decade.

Senate

Despite broad support for the redistricting plan overall, the Senate maps generated controversy. Latino groups sought a court challenge similar to their suit over congressional districts. And at least a half dozen women in the Assembly complained that the Senate boundaries make it difficult or impossible for them to seek election to the upper chamber when their current terms expire. In another controversy, one of the Assembly's most highly regarded Democrats had his Senate hopes dashed when the nearest district purportedly was drawn for a Democratic colleague. In the end, neither lawmaker filed for the new Senate seat. Despite the personality clashes, however, the new Senate map leaves at least 62 percent of the seats in safe Democratic territory.

Assembly

The most significant difference between the new 2001 redistricting and its 1991 court-created predecessor occurred in the Assembly: abandonment of "nesting," where a Senate district was split between two "nested" Assembly districts. No Assembly member wanted that kind of inflexibility built into the program. Of the three district plans, the Assembly version created the least controversy, with none of its new districts challenged in court.

Key

D: Democrat
R: Republican
DS: Decline-to-State
W: White (in Senate districts, this includes all non-Latino, black and Asian)
L: Latino
B: Black
A: Asian
Safe Seats: Districts with more than a 10% registration edge for one party are considered safe. Districts with less than a 10% edge that voted for the dominant party's candidates for president ('00), governor, secretary of state and insurance commissioner ('98) also are considered safe. Current incumbents are not a factor.
Note: Ethnicity percentages may add up to + or - 100% due to rounding

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Congressional Districts

District 1 (47% D - 31% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, Sonoma, Yolo
Cities: Davis, Eureka, Napa
Ethnicity: 71% W, 18% L, 2% B, 4% A
President 00: 52% Gore, 39% Bush
Analysis: This district, stretching along the coast, from the wine country to the Oregon border, is little changed by the new maps. It remains the only Democratic territory north of the Napa Valley.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 2 (37% D - 45% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba
Cities: Chico, Redding, Paradise
Ethnicity: 76% W, 14% L, 1% B, 4% A
President 00: 33% Gore, 61% Bush
Analysis: This district is split lengthwise by I-5 starting at the Oregon border and reaching almost to Sacramento. Mapmakers did not change the GOP edge here, but they removed much of the northern Sierra and Cascade Mountains.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 3 (39% D - 44% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, Sacramento, Solano
Cities: Folsom, Citrus Heights, Carmichael, Murphys
Ethnicity: 74% W, 11% L, 5% B, 7% A
President 00: 41% Gore, 54% Bush
Analysis: Democrats held this seat through much of the 1990s, but mapmakers reached into the Sierra Mountains east of Sacramento to boost GOP ranks and make this a Republican seat with a need for some attention. It should hold Republican, although Davis picked this one off in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 4 (34% D - 47% R - 14% DS)
Counties: El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Sacramento
Cities: Roseville, Orangevale, Grass Valley, South Lake Tahoe
Ethnicity: 84% W, 9% L, 1% B, 3% A
President 00: 36% Gore, 59% Bush
Analysis: Geographically, this district changed considerably, reaching from the Sacramento suburbs up the Sierras to the Oregon border. Politically, however, its GOP margin barely moved.
Bottom Line: *Safe Republican*

District 5 (55% D - 26% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Sacramento
Cities: *Sacramento*
Ethnicity: 43% W, 21% L, 15% B, 16% A
President 00: 60% Gore, 35% Bush
Analysis: This solidly Democratic seat grew even a bit more so on the new maps. The boundaries, covering most of greater Sacramento, are largely the same. Incumbent Democrat Robert T. Matsui, representing the 14th largest Asian CD, routinely runs well ahead of his party's registration.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 6 (51% D - 28% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Marin, Sonoma
Cities: Santa Rosa, Petaluma, San Rafael
Ethnicity: 76% W, 15% L, 2% B, 5% A
President 00: 62% Gore, 30% Bush
Analysis: Democrats would only be threatened here by a third party challenge from the left. This wealthy and liberal district in Marin County and the wine country has a healthy Green Party, and even the GOP went for John McCain over Bush in the '00 primary.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 7 (57% D - 23% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Contra Costa, Solano
Cities: Richmond, Vallejo, Concord, Martinez
Ethnicity: 43% W, 21% L, 17% B, 14% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 30% Bush
Analysis: Starting on the San Francisco Bay in Richmond, this district follows the mouth of the Delta to Pittsburg and Vacaville. Democrats gave up a few meaningless points in their margin by extending the district toward Sacramento.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 8 (57% D - 13% R - 24% DS)
Counties: San Francisco
Cities: San Francisco
Ethnicity: 43% W, 16% L, 9% B, 30% A
President 00: 77% Gore, 15% Bush
Analysis: This downtown San Francisco district, held at the time of reapportionment by new House Whip Nancy Pelosi, is virtually unchanged. It does, however, have the state's highest decline-to-state registration.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 9 (64% D - 12% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Alameda
Cities: Oakland, Berkeley, Castro Valley
Ethnicity: 35% W, 19% L, 27% B, 16% A
President 00: 78% Gore, 13% Bush
Analysis: Mapmakers added some of the Bay Area's fastest growing suburbs (potential GOP turf in the future) to the state's most liberal enclaves in Berkeley and Oakland, thus ensuring this area will not change hands.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 10 (46% D - 35% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Contra Costa, Alameda, Sacramento, Solano
Cities: Fairfield, Antioch, Concord, Livermore
Ethnicity: 65% W, 15% L, 6% B, 10% A
President 00: 55% Gore, 41% Bush
Analysis: Republicans lost this seat in the 1990s when these Bay Area suburbs grew less rural and home to more urban refugees. Mapmakers fractured the remaining GOP vote and boosted the Democrat margin by 10 points. It should be safe for Democrats now, although Republican Quackenbush was able to win here for insurance commissioner in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 11 (39% D - 46% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, San Joaquin, Santa Clara
Cities: Stockton, Dublin, Danville, Tracy
Ethnicity: 64% W, 20% L, 3% B, 9% A
President 00: 44% Gore, 52% Bush
Analysis: This is an area that Democrats might have retooled in order to help their party in the battle for control of the House. Instead, they boosted Democrats in CD 10 by putting some of the Bay Area suburbs in this Central Valley seat. This should be safe for the GOP, although Davis won here in '98.
Bottom Line: Leans Republican

District 12 (52% D - 24% R - 19% DS)
Counties: San Francisco, San Mateo
Cities: San Francisco, Daly City, South San Francisco, San Mateo
Ethnicity: 48% W, 16% L, 3% B, 30% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 28% Bush
Analysis: As before, this district straddles the San Francisco Peninsula, starting near the city's Sunset District and reaching south to Redwood City. It claims the state's second largest Asian population and second highest decline-to-state voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 13 (54% D - 24% R - 17% DS)
Counties: Alameda
Cities: Fremont, Hayward, Alameda
Ethnicity: 38% W, 21% L, 7% B, 30% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 29% Bush
Analysis: This East Bay district moved slightly north to include Alameda, but its politics show little change. It ranks 4th for its Asian population and 8th in decline-to-state voters.
Bottom Line: *Safe Democrat*

District 14 (46% D - 31% R - 18% DS)
Counties: San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz
Cities: Sunnyvale, Palo Alto, Half Moon Bay, Redwood City

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Ethnicity: 60% W, 18% L, 3% B, 17% A
President 00: 61% Gore, 33% Bush
Analysis: Little change here. This Silicon Valley and coastal Santa Cruz area is less than half Democrat in registration but solidly left in its voting.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 15 (45% D - 32% R - 19% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: San Jose, Santa Clara, Milpitas
Ethnicity: 47% W, 17% L, 3% B, 30% A
President 00: 59% Gore, 36% Bush
Analysis: This San Jose seat went back and forth between the parties during the 1990s, but mapmakers boosted its Democratic ranks with a prong to Gilroy. It also boasts the state's largest Asian population.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 16 (50% D - 28% R - 18% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: San Jose
Ethnicity: 32% W, 38% L, 4% B, 24% A
President 00: 63% Gore, 33% Bush
Analysis: With a population center in San Jose, this district is barely a third white. Stretching south along Hwy. 101 to Gilroy, it remains a Democrat stronghold.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 17 (50% D - 29% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Monterey, San Benito, Santa Cruz
Cities: Salinas, Watsonville, Hollister
Ethnicity: 46% W, 43% L, 3% B, 6% A
President 00: 60% Gore, 33% Bush
Analysis: Little change here. This district combines the Big Sur coast south of Santa Cruz and Hwy. 101 farm towns below Gilroy. The GOP leans left: McCain won the '00 primary here by about 100 votes.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 18 (52% D - 35% R - 9% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Merced, Stanislaus, San Joaquin, Madera
Cities: Stockton, Ceres, Modesto
Ethnicity: 39% W, 42% L, 6% B, 9% A
President 00: 53% Gore, 44% Bush
Analysis: Democrats held onto this Central Valley seat in the 1990s with a blue dog Democrat, Gary Condit. When Condit was tainted by scandal, the party tried to urge him out by drawing this district in a way that makes it winnable for a more traditional Democrat. Mapmakers reached up to Stockton and doubled the party's margin.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 19 (40% D - 46% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Madera, Stanislaus, Mariposa
Cities: Fresno, Turlock, Madera, Modesto
Ethnicity: 60% W, 28% L, 4% B, 5% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 57% Bush
Analysis: The Republican margin tightened here after minor geographic changes, but the GOP routinely outperforms registration in this Central Valley and Sierra district.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 20 (53% D - 33% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Kern, Kings
Cities: Fresno, Bakersfield, Hanford
Ethnicity: 21% W, 63% L, 7% B, 6% A
President 00: 54% Gore, 43% Bush
Analysis: Minor changes to this Central Valley district stretching north from Bakersfield gave a little boost to Democrats. Latinos are also a major force with 44% of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 21 (39% D - 47% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Tulare
Cities: Fresno, Clovis, Visalia, Tulare
Ethnicity: 46% W, 43% L, 2% B, 5% A
President 00: 37% Gore, 60% Bush
Analysis: Any Republican edge in this Sierra and Central Valley seat makes this safe for the GOP. But it was designed as an open seat for a Republican Latino by reaching into Fresno and then up toward Mammoth Lakes.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 22 (32% D - 52% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Kern, Los Angeles, San Luis Obispo
Cities: Bakersfield, Paso Robles, Lancaster
Ethnicity: 67% W, 21% L, 6% B, 3% A
President 00: 33% Gore, 64% Bush
Analysis: This seat was designed for Republican Bill Thomas, the Bakersfield incumbent in the old CD 21. But it makes major changes that give a big boost to GOP strength by stretching toward the coast at Morro Bay instead of reaching up the Valley, as before. It is also being challenged in court by Latino groups.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 23 (45% D - 32% R - 16% DS)
Counties: San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura
Cities: Oxnard, Santa Barbara, Goleta, Santa Maria
Ethnicity: 49% W, 42% L, 2% B, 5% A
President 00: 53% Gore, 40% Bush
Analysis: This district is all beach, stretching like a ribbon for more than 150 miles along the coast from Oxnard up past Morro Bay. The new design once and for all splits the coastal Democrats from the inland GOP votes that made this a top contest in the 1990s. It should stay with Democrats, but both Jones and Quackenbush carried it for the GOP in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 24 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Santa Barbara, Ventura
Cities: Simi Valley, Thousand Oaks, Camarillo
Ethnicity: 69% W, 22% L, 2% B, 5% A
President 00: 42% Gore, 53% Bush
Analysis: Once the coastal Democrats were stacked in CD 23, this one kept the inland Republican voters between Lompoc and Thousand Oaks. Still, it's not a hard core GOP seat. Davis nearly carried it in '98 for governor.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 25 (36% D - 45% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Inyo, Mono
Cities: Palmdale, Santa Clarita, Lancaster
Ethnicity: 57% W, 27% L, 8% B, 4% A
President 00: 41% Gore, 55% Bush
Analysis: This district touches Los Angeles then follows Route 395 more than 240 miles past Death Valley and up to Mammoth Lakes. It grew more Republican in the process, but Davis still did well here in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 26 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Rancho Cucamonga, Arcadia, Upland, Glendora
Ethnicity: 53% W, 24% L, 5% B, 16% A
President 00: 43% Gore, 53% Bush
Analysis: This seat was drawn for GOP incumbent David Dreier although it excludes Covina, where he used to have his district office. Dreier already lived in the new district in San Dimas, and he'll like it even better with the much improved GOP vote.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 27 (49% D - 32% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Burbank
Ethnicity: 45% W, 37% L, 5% B, 11% A
President 00: 60% Gore, 36% Bush
Analysis: This district grew away from the coast and is more heavily concentrated in the San Fernando Valley, picking up more Democrats and more Latino voters. It was designed for Democratic incumbent Brad Sherman, formerly in CD 24.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 28 (58% D - 22% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, San Fernando
Ethnicity: 31% W, 56% L, 4% B, 6% A
President 00: 72% Gore, 24% Bush
Analysis: This was drawn for incumbent Democrat Howard Berman, whose brother, Michael, was chief designer for the new districts. The San Fernando Valley seat had a southern border on Hwy. 101 but now reaches into the Hollywood hills almost to Sunset Blvd.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 29 (47% D - 34% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Glendale, Alhambra, Burbank
Ethnicity: 39% W, 26% L, 6% B, 25% A

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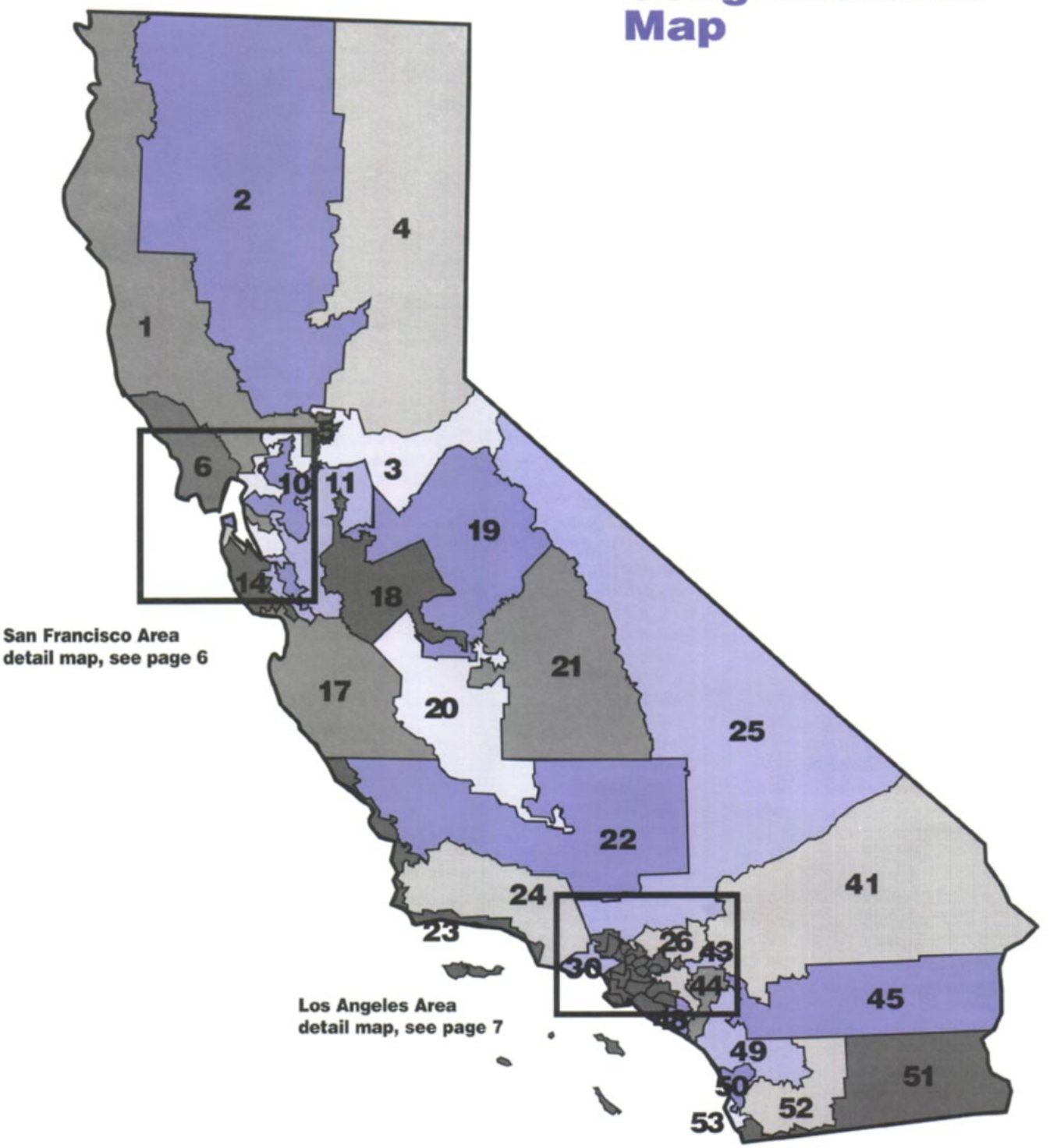
President 00: 57% Gore, 38% Bush
Analysis: This seat was drawn for Democratic incumbent Adam Schiff, who stole a former GOP seat in 2000. Reaching south to Monterey Park and west to Burbank, this district picked up Democrat voters. Even the GOP went for McCain over Bush in the '00 primmary.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 30 (52% D - 28% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, West Hollywood
Ethnicity: 77% W, 8% L, 3% B, 10% A
President 00: 68% Gore, 28% Bush
Analysis: This district, drawn for Democratic incumbent Henry Waxman, lost much of its Hollywood portion and moved west along the coast well past Malibu.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 31 (63% D - 17% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 10% W, 70% L, 4% B, 14% A
President 00: 76% Gore, 19% Bush
Analysis: This predominantly Latino dis-

Congressional Map



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trict surrounding downtown Los Angeles on three sides gained part of the city's South Central area.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

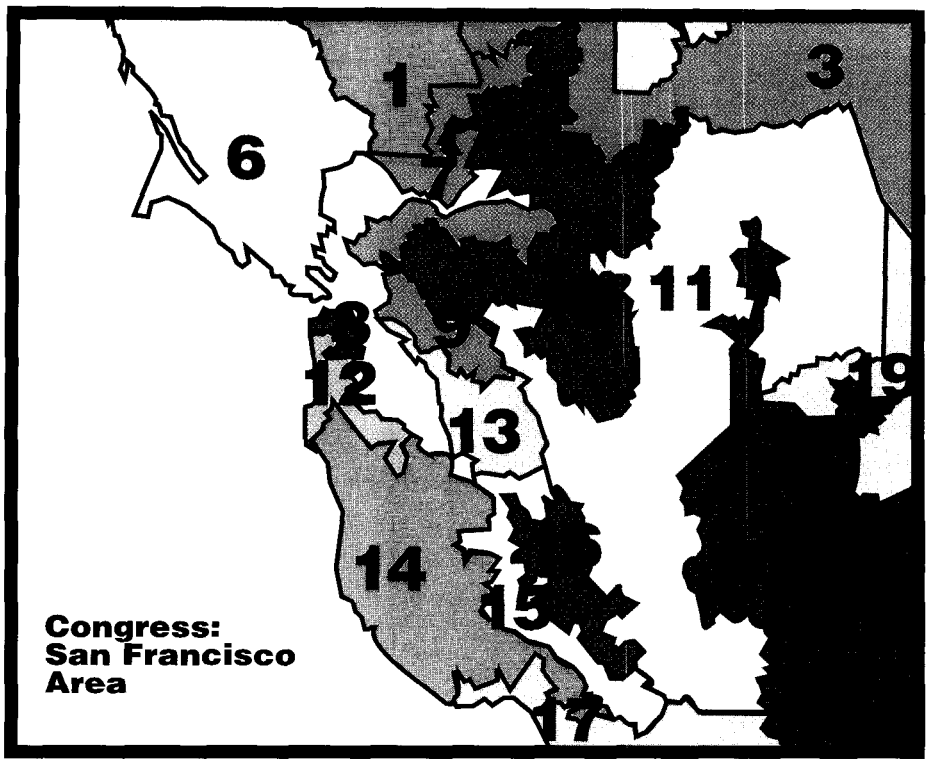
District 32 (55% D - 26% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: West Covina, El Monte, Baldwin Park
Ethnicity: 15% W, 62% L, 3% B, 19% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 31% Bush
Analysis: This district (formerly CD 31) east of downtown LA lost Alhambra and picked up Covina and West Covina but remained politically unchanged.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 33 (69% D - 13% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Culver City
Ethnicity: 20% W, 35% L, 30% B, 13% A
President 00: Gore 82%, Bush 13%
Analysis: This is the state's second strongest Democrat district and home to the second largest black population. It reaches from Culver City and the edge of Inglewood to Hollywood on its northern border.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 34 (62% D - 21% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Downey, Huntington Park
Ethnicity: 12% W, 77% L, 5% B, 6% A
President 00: 72% Gore, 26% Bush
Analysis: This district, including downtown Los Angeles and East LA, has the largest Latino population in the California delegation. It is also one of the most Democratic, although mapmakers increased its GOP registration by reaching south to Downey and Bellflower.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 35 (69% D - 14% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Inglewood
Ethnicity: 10% W, 47% L, 34% B, 6% A
President 00: 81% Gore, 17% Bush
Analysis: This is the state's most Democratic seat in registration and home to its largest black population. Drawn for incumbent Democrat Maxine Waters, it actually grew more Republican by reaching out toward the beach south of Marina del Rey.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 36 (46% D, 33% R, 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Torrance, Redondo Beach
Ethnicity: 49% W, 30% L, 4% B, 14% A
President 00: 56% Gore, 38% Bush
Analysis: This was a Republican seat until incumbent Democrat Jane Harman took it from the GOP twice in the 1990s. Now, it's moved away from the Palos Verdes Peninsula and should be safe for Democrats, although Quackenbush took this area in '98 for insurance commissioner.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat



District 37 (63% D - 18% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Long Beach, Carson, Compton, Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 17% W, 43% L, 25% B, 12% A
President 00: 75% Gore, 21% Bush
Analysis: This district absorbed much of Long Beach, where Democratic gains finally led to elimination of a Republican seat that was held by Steve Horn. Democrats lost a bit of their margin here, but this seat is still the party's 4th strongest in registration.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 38 (61% D - 22% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Pomona, Norwalk, Pico Rivera, Montebello
Ethnicity: 14% W, 71% L, 4% B, 11% A
President 00: 69% Gore, 28% Bush
Analysis: This district (formerly CD 34) was substantially recrafted, taking out Whittier and adding Pomona. Its political balance remains unchanged and, designed for incumbent Democrat Grace Napolitano, it is still one of the most Latino districts.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 39 (55% D - 28% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: South Gate, Lynwood, Lakewood, Cerritos
Ethnicity: 21% W, 61% L, 6% B, 10% A
President 00: 62% Gore, 35% Bush
Analysis: This is the district drawn to accommodate the additional seat California gained due to its census growth. Shaped like a horseshoe, it reaches from South Gate, south to Lakewood and then north to Whittier. It is intended for a Latino.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 40 (34% D - 48% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Orange, Fullerton, Anaheim
Ethnicity: 49% W, 30% L, 2% B, 16% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 58% Bush
Analysis: This U-shaped district surrounds Anaheim like a wig, avoiding the city's Democrats to raise the GOP margin.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 41 (36% D - 46% R - 12% DS)
Counties: San Bernardino, Riverside
Cities: Redlands, Hesperia, San Bernardino
Ethnicity: 64% W, 23% L, 6% B, 4% A
President 00: 40% Gore, 55% Bush
Analysis: Little change here. This district stretches through the desert to the Arizona border. Most of its population is from urban territory, including San Bernardino and Redlands.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 42 (31% D - 51% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Orange, Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Mission Viejo, La Habra, Anaheim, Yorba Linda
Ethnicity: 54% W, 24% L, 3% B, 17% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 58% Bush
Analysis: This district now reaches down to

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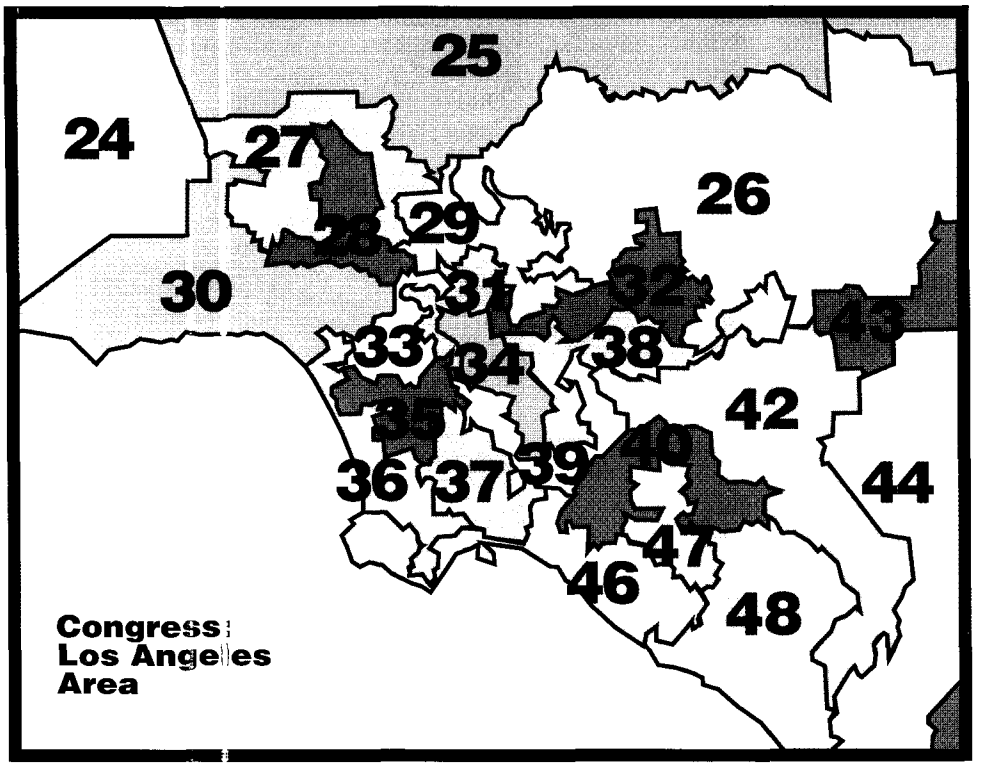

Mission Viejo, increasing the GOP margin for incumbent Republican Gary Miller by a whopping 18 points.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 43 (55% D - 30% R - 10% DS)
Counties: San Bernardino
Cities: Ontario, San Bernardino, Fontana
Ethnicity: 23% W, 58% L, 13% B, 3% A
President 00: 63% Gore, 34% Bush
Analysis: Mapmakers reached into Ontario to increase the Democratic margin here by more than 10 points for incumbent Joe Baca.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 44 (34% D - 49% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Orange, Riverside
Cities: Riverside, San Clemente
Ethnicity: 51% W, 36% L, 6% B, 5% A
President 00: 44% Gore, 53% Bush
Analysis: This seat concentrated its Republican edge by reaching from Riverside to the coast at San Clemente. Incumbent Republican Ken Calvert was already breezing to reelection here.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 45 (38% D - 46% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Riverside
Cities: Moreno Valley, Hemet
Ethnicity: 50% W, 38% L, 7% B, 3% A
President 00: 46% Gore, 51% Bush
Analysis: This should be a safe Republican area, although it went for Davis in '98, making it the lone exception to CJ's "safe" criteria. Drawn for incumbent Republican Mary Bono, it stretches from the desert resorts around Palm Springs to the Arizona border.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 46 (33% D - 48% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Orange
Cities: Huntington Beach, Costa Mesa, Palos Verdes
Ethnicity: 63% W, 17% L, 2% B, 16% A
President 00: 41% Gore, 54% Bush
Analysis: This is where they put the Palos Verdes Republicans who caused so much trouble for Democrats in the 1990s. Now they're added to coastal Orange County via a strip barely a block wide along the ocean front in Long Beach. The ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles were also thrown in.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 47 (48% D - 34% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Santa Ana, Anaheim, Garden Grove
Ethnicity: 17% W, 65% L, 2% B, 14% A
President 00: 56% Gore, 41% Bush
Analysis: This predominantly Latino seat once held by GOP stalwart Bob Dornan should stay Democrat as the Latino vote grows. But it still has Republican sympathies, siding in '98 for Bill Jones as secretary of state and Chuck Quackenbush for insurance commissioner.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 48 (28% D - 53% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Irvine, Newport Beach, Tustin
Ethnicity: 68% W, 15% L, 2% B, 14% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 57% Bush
Analysis: This district moved further south along the coast, now reaching from Newport Beach to Dana Point. It matters little to incumbent Chris Cox, who still represents the GOP's strongest concentration.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 49 (31% D - 49% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Riverside, San Diego
Cities: Oceanside, Vista, Temecula
Ethnicity: 58% W, 30% L, 5% B, 4% A
President 00: 38% Gore, 58% Bush
Analysis: This district moved south along the coast, starting now at San Clemente. It grew more Republican for incumbent Darrell Issa by reaching up to Perris and Lake Elsinore.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 50 (31% D - 46% R - 17% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego, Escondido
Ethnicity: 66% W, 19% L, 2% B, 11% A
President 00: 42% Gore, 53% Bush
Analysis: With Oceanside and Escondido on its northern edge, this district follows the coast to Del Mar, then approaches the coast again just north of Mission Bay. It is safely Republican, but it has maverick streaks, going for McCain over Bush in the '00 primary.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 51 (49% D - 30% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Imperial, San Diego
Cities: San Diego, Chula Vista
Ethnicity: 21% W, 53% L, 10% B, 13% A
President 00: 56% Gore, 40% Bush
Analysis: This district was recast to help add Democrats to the new CD 53. It now spans the entire border with Mexico, from the coast to Arizona. It is also the subject of a lawsuit brought by Latino groups.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 52 (32% D - 46% R - 16% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego, El Cajon
Ethnicity: 73% W, 14% L, 4% B, 6% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 57% Bush
Analysis: This district is largely desert, avoiding the increasingly Democratic areas around San Diego and consolidating the GOP territory.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 53 (42% D - 32% R - 18% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego
Ethnicity: 51% W, 29% L, 8% B, 9% A
President 00: 57% Gore, 37% Bush
Analysis: Democrats took this seat in '00 when they had a 3-point registration edge. Now, it is among the only places in the state where Democrats can approach safety with a 10-point margin because the growing independent vote here tilts to the left. Still, Quackenbush won here for the GOP in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

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Senate Districts

District 1 (36% D - 46% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sacramento, Sierra
Cities: Truckee, Folsom, Roseville
Ethnicity: 82% W, 10% L, 3% B, 5% A
President 00: Gore 38%, Bush 57%
Analysis: Straddling the Sierra spine nearly halfway down the state, this north GOP bastion went Republican in nearly all '98 contests. New lines cut Democrats nearly 10% by shifting from the state's northwest corner to northeast.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 2 (50% D - 29% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Napa, Solano, Sonoma
Cities: Vallejo, Santa Rosa
Ethnicity: 73% W, 16% L, 5% B, 7% A
President 00: 56% Gore, 36% Bush
Analysis: This is California's rocky northern coast, home to environmentalists, timber workers and a valuable tourism business that stretches to the wine country. As before, Democrats are rarely contested.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 3 (54% D - 19% R - 20% DS)
Counties: Marin, San Francisco, Sonoma
Cities: San Francisco, Petaluma
Ethnicity: 62% W, 15% L, 8% B, 15% A
President 00: 69% Gore, 22% Bush
Analysis: This district spans the Bayside half of downtown San Francisco from the ballpark to the Golden Gate. It also reaches north through Marin County's wealth to Santa Rosa. So Democratic, it almost went 4-to-1 for Davis in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 4 (36% D - 45% R 13% DS)
Counties: Butte, Colusa, Del Norte, Glenn, Nevada, Placer, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, Yuba
Cities: Rocklin, Lincoln
Ethnicity: 82% W, 12% L, 2% B, 4% A
President 00: 34% Gore, 60% Bush
Analysis: With a slice of northern coast, this district straddles I-5 from the Oregon border almost to Sacramento. The white population is the largest concentration of a single ethnic group in any of the state Senate districts.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican.

District 5 (49% D - 35% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Sacramento, San Joaquin, Solano, Yolo
Cities: Stockton, Davis, Tracy, Vacaville, Fairfield
Ethnicity: 50% W, 27% L, 9% B, 14% A
President 00: 54% Gore, 42% Bush
Analysis: This is the north end of the Central Valley, spanning farmland and new suburbs in Fairfield and Davis. Democrats gained 5 points in reapportionment, trying to carve out a keeper.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 6 (51% D - 30% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Sacramento
Cities: Sacramento, Citrus Heights
Ethnicity: 53% W, 18% L, 14% B, 15% A
President 00: 55% Gore, 40% Bush
Analysis: Both parties lost registration in this district surrounding downtown Sacramento and the northern suburbs. But Democrats have no worries—Davis won it 2-to1 in '98 and even incumbent Bill Jones missed a win here that year for secretary of state.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 7 (48% D - 34% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Contra Costa
Cities: Concord, Antioch, Walnut Creek, Pittsburg, Martinez
Ethnicity: 65% W, 15% L, 7% B, 13% A
President 00: 57% Gore, 39% Bush
Analysis: This is one of the most dynamic areas of California today in terms of growing and shifting populations. The district grew significantly more Democratic with reapportionment, but it may need continued attention by the party.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 8 (53% D - 22% R - 21% DS)
Counties: San Francisco, San Mateo
Cities: San Francisco, Burlingame, Daly City, South San Francisco, Pacifica
Ethnicity: 45% W, 16% L, 4% B, 35% A
President 00: 69% Gore, 26% Bush
Analysis: This district spans the SF Peninsula, starting at the Cliff House and wrapping around the outside of Silicon Valley. Democrats often win here by more than 2- or 3-to-1.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 9 (61% D - 16% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Contra Costa
Cities: Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, Livermore, Castro Valley
Ethnicity: 39% W, 19% L, 25% B, 17% A
President 00: 74% Gore, 18% Bush
Analysis: Reaching out to Livermore diluted the Democratic edge in this district, but it makes no difference to one of the state's liberal bastions. Even Republicans here went for John McCain over Bush in the '00 presidential primary.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 10 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Santa Clara
Cities: Fremont, Hayward, San Leandro, Pleasanton, Union City, Newark
Ethnicity: 39% W, 21% L, 7% B, 33% A
President 00: 64% Gore, 32% Bush
Analysis: This district runs along the East Bay south of Oakland. It's largely unchanged except for a retreat from the Castro Valley and a few neighborhoods on the southern edge of Silicon Valley.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 11 (48% D - 29% R - 17% DS)
Counties: San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz
Cities: San Jose, Cupertino, Santa Cruz
Ethnicity: 63% W, 17% L, 4% B, 16% A
President 00: 61% Gore, 32% Bush
Analysis: Mapmakers significantly beefed up the Democratic strength in this district by abandoning much of the SF Peninsula and extending south through Santa Cruz. Republicans here also sided with McCain over Bush in the '00 primary.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 12 (50% D - 35% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Madera, Merced, Monterey, San Benito, Stanislaus
Cities: Salinas, Modesto, Turlock, Madera
Ethnicity: 41% W, 49% L, 4% B, 6% A
President 00: 51% Gore, 45% Bush
Analysis: This agricultural and strong Latino district used to stretch to Yosemite Valley, but it moved significantly west to include the farm towns along Hwy. 101 from Salinas to King City. These days, this is known as Condit Country, referring to its conservative Democrat credentials.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 13 (51% D, 26% R, 19% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: San Jose, Santa Clara, Mountain View, Sunnyvale
Ethnicity: 33% W, 35% L, 4% B, 28% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 29% Bush
Analysis: This downtown San Jose district—also stretching from Silicon Valley south to Gilroy—has seen a sharp increase in Latinos and also is the second largest Asian district in the Senate. Mapmakers kept the same healthy Democratic margin in an area moving more and more their way.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 14 (37% D - 49% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Madera, Mariposa, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne
Cities: Fresno, Modesto, Clovis
Ethnicity: 65% W, 25% L, 4% B, 6% A
President 00: 36% Gore, 60% Bush
Analysis: This district grew significantly more Republican by stretching north to the

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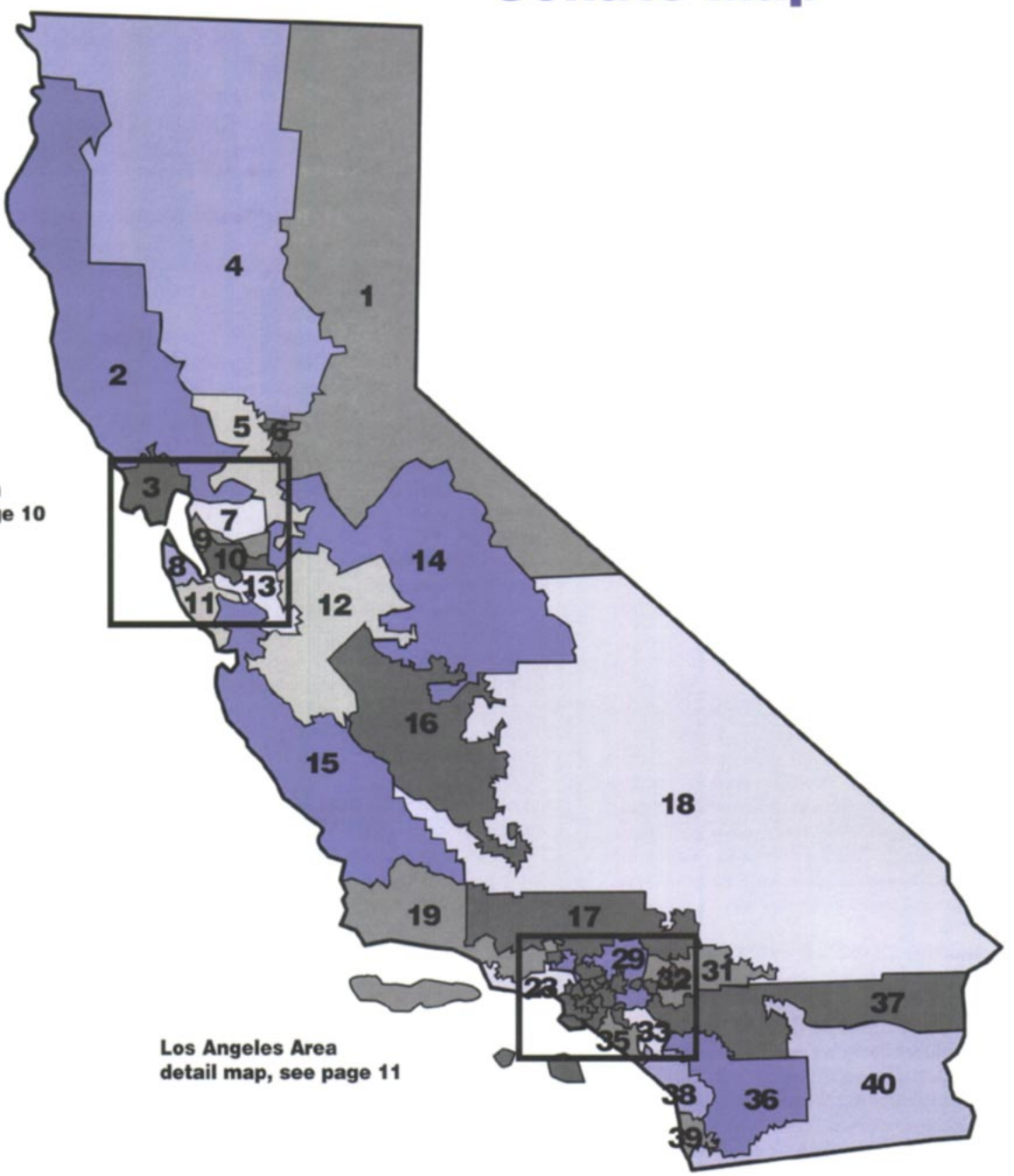
Delta and Yosemite. Bush won here by nearly 70,000 votes, his third best margin in the state.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 15 (40% D, 40% R, 15% DS)
Counties: Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz
Cities: San Jose, Watsonville, Monterey, Santa Maria
Ethnicity: 64% W, 24% L, 3% B, 9% A
President 00: 48% Gore, 46% Bush
Analysis: Democrats had a 13-point edge in this district along the Big Sur coast in 2000, and they still lost the seat to Republican Bruce McPherson. Now that registration is dead even, they consider this a GOP seat. It was also challenged in a lawsuit.
Bottom Line: Toss Up

District 16 (52% D - 34% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare
Cities: Fresno, Coalinga
Ethnicity: 23% W, 63% L, 7% B, 7% A
President 00: 54% Gore, 43% Bush
Analysis: This district is almost smack in the middle of the state, and it's split down the middle by I-5. It's more Republican than in the last redistricting plan, but with so many Latinos, it lands on the Democrat side.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 17 (37% D - 45% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino, Ventura
Cities: Los Angeles, Lancaster, Palmdale, Santa Clarita Apple Valley, Hesperia
Ethnicity: 58% W, 27% L, 9% B, 6% A
President 00: 42% Gore, 54% Bush
Analysis: From the desert to the sea, this district reaches from the dry lakebeds north of Los Angeles to the coastal hills in Ventura. Picking up a bit of the northern Los Angeles

Senate Map



San Francisco Area detail map, see page 10

Los Angeles Area detail map, see page 11

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County sprawl, this area is politically stable for the GOP.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

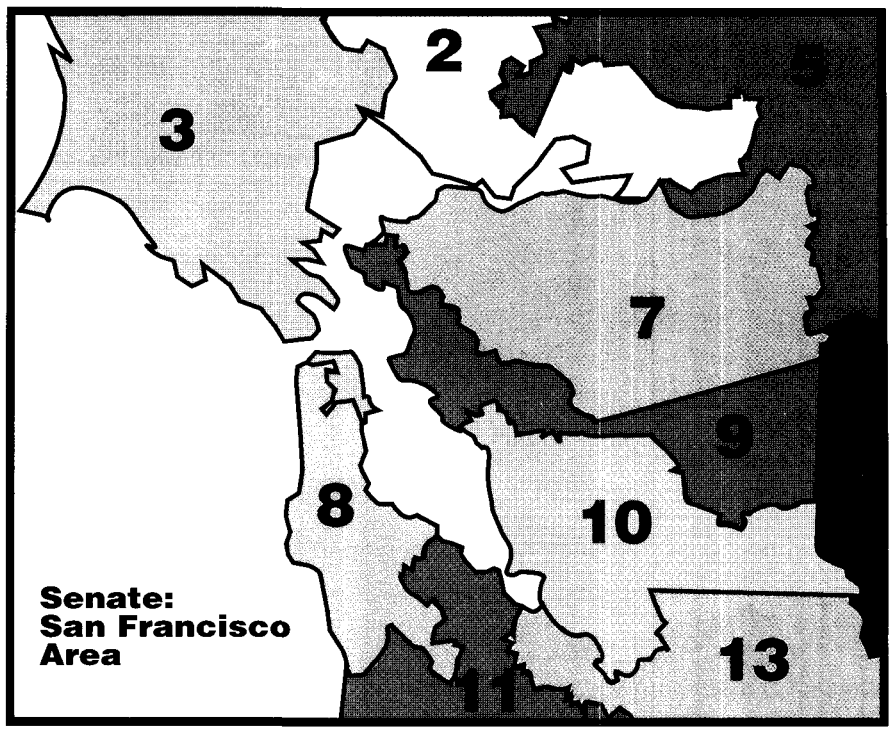
District 18 (34% D - 50% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Kern, San Bernardino, Tulare
Cities: Bakersfield, Tulare, Visalia
Ethnicity: 64% W, 27% L, 5% B, 4% A
President 00: 33% Gore, 64% Bush
Analysis: The Air Force, Navy and Marines claim hundreds of square miles of this high desert area bordering Nevada and Arizona, with a western boundary at Bakersfield. Mapmakers moved this district east to increase its Republican margin.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 19 (37% D - 42% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Ventura
Cities: Santa Barbara, Thousand Oaks, Simi Valley, Mira Monte
Ethnicity: 70% W, 22% L, 2% B, 6% A
President 00: 49% Gore, 49% Bush
Analysis: Democratic territory on the Santa Barbara coast was added to this district, upsetting many locals who complained that it has little in common with the Simi Valley and Santa Clarita portions. The changes, however, slightly increased the GOP margin.
Bottom Line: Leans Republican

District 20 (55% D - 25% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, San Fernando
Ethnicity: 24% W, 61% L, 6% B, 9% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 30% Bush
Analysis: A predominantly Latino district in the San Fernando Valley that grew more diverse and Democratic in the last decade.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 21 (48% D - 32% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena, San Gabriel
Ethnicity: 49% W, 26% L, 7% B, 18% A
President 00: 59% Gore, 35% Bush
Analysis: Democrats won this seat from Republicans in the '90s, and mapmakers made sure it would stick. This district navigates Los Angeles from wealthy La Canada-Flintridge to the San Fernando Valley and the downtown warehouses.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 22 (62% D - 18% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Alhambra, Maywood
Ethnicity: 8% W, 73% L, 6% B, 14% A
President 00: 75% Gore, 21% Bush
Analysis: A solid Latino and Democratic area, this district covers downtown and east Los Angeles, including a finger that reaches northwest to South Pasadena and Alhambra.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat



District 23 (52% D - 28% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Ventura
Cities: Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, West Hollywood, Oxnard
Ethnicity: 66% W, 21% L, 4% B, 9% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 29% Bush
Analysis: Sunshine, ocean waves, coastal bluffs and lots of money dominate this district. Its southern edge is Santa Monica, Malibu near its center, and the Channel Islands mark its northern boundary.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 24 (57% D - 24% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: West Covina, El Monte, Baldwin Park, Los Angeles, Rosemead
Ethnicity: 13% W, 65% L, 3% B, 19% A
President 00: 68% Gore, 29% Bush
Analysis: This is largely a working class belt to the east of downtown LA. Predominantly Latino, it straddles I-10 to West Covina.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 25 (63% D - 20% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Long Beach, Compton
Ethnicity: 17% W, 41% L, 33% B, 9% A
President 00: 73% Gore, 24% Bush
Analysis: The artwork required to make this district is worthy of a wall hanging. Shaped like a backward C, it puts wealthy Palos Verdes in a district likely to elect a black lawmaker from urban bases in Compton, Gardena and Inglewood.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 26 (68% D - 13% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Culver City
Ethnicity: 22% W, 37% L, 30% B, 12% A
President 00: 83% Gore, 13% Bush
Analysis: A bit of creative drawing here puts a swath of Beverly Hills mansions in a district with South Central Los Angeles. This district likely elects a black but it also gave Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante his highest score in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 27 (53% D - 30% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Long Beach, Downey, Bellflower
Ethnicity: 31% W, 45% L, 11% B, 13% A
President 00: 60% Gore, 36% Bush
Analysis: Democrats barely worked this district out of GOP hands when they had a 14-point edge in '00. So they took out the Palos Verdes Peninsula and added a bit of Lynwood to add another 9 points to their margin. That should fix it for them, although this map has been challenged in court by Latino advocates.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 28 (49% D - 30 % R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Carson, Torrance
Ethnicity: 46% W, 30% L, 8% B, 16% A
President 00: 60% Gore, 35% Bush
Analysis: Chuck Quackenbush managed a slight win in this district in '98 for insurance commissioner, showing how much edge it takes for the Democrats to feel safe. Still, this coastal stretch from Santa Monica to Palos Verdes is pretty comfortable terrain for a Democrat.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 29 (35% D - 47% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Orange,

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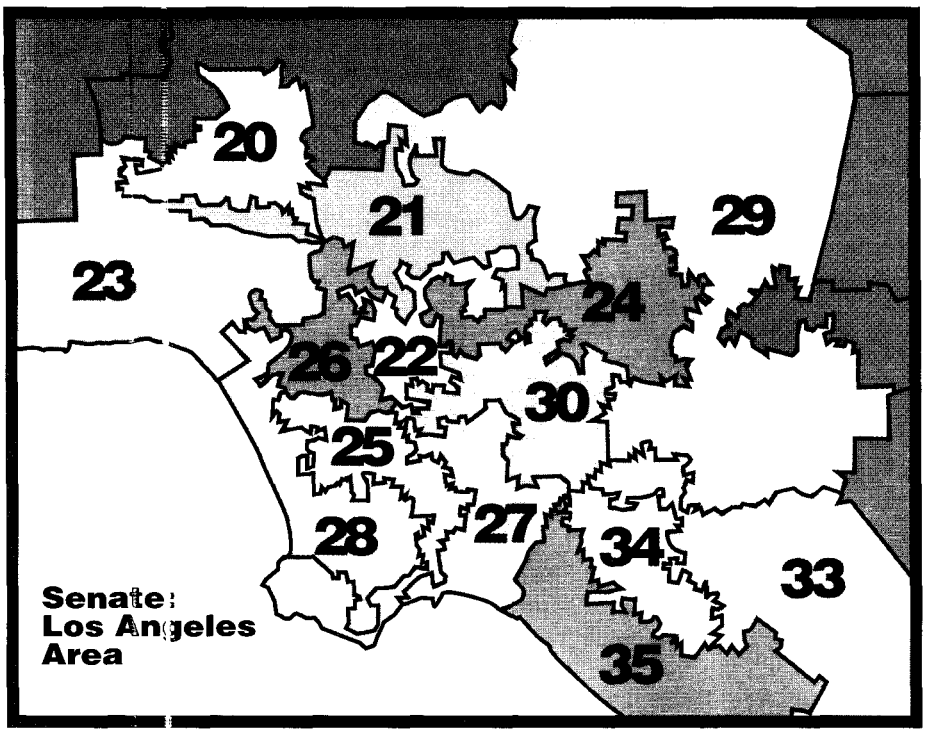

San Bernardino
Cities: Arcadia, Glendora, La Habra, Yorba Linda, Chino
Ethnicity: 49% W, 26% L, 4% B, 21% A
President 00: 42% Gore, 54% Bush
Analysis: The GOP fought hard here, unexpectedly, in '00. Now, mapmakers boosted Republican power by adding Yorba Linda and Brea, as well as more of foothill communities near Pasadena.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 30 (59% D - 25% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Norwalk Hutington Park, Whittier
Ethnicity: 16% W, 75% L, 2% B, 6% A
President 00: 66% Gore, 31% Bush
Analysis: This is the most heavily populated Latino district in the state Senate. It is split in half lengthwise by I-605. Hwy. 60 is northern ceiling.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 31 (37% D - 47% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Riverside, San Bernardino
Cities: Riverside, Rancho Cucamonga
Ethnicity: 55% W, 31% L, 7% B, 7% A
President 00: 44% Gore, 51% Bush
Analysis: Republicans had no worries here when GOP leader Jim Brulte held the seat with a 7-point edge in registration. Now, mapmakers dropped miles of desert and added much of Riverside to increase its Republican ranks.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 32 (55% D - 29% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Ontario, San Bernardino, Fontana
Ethnicity: 23% W, 59% L, 13% B, 5% A
President 00: 63% Gore, 33% Bush
Analysis: Straddling I-10 from Pomona to San Bernardino, this district grew significantly Latino and Democratic during the '90s. Mapmakers dropped the Chino Hills.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 33 (28% D - 54% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Orange, Fullerton, Anaheim, Tustin
Ethnicity: 65% W, 20% L, 2% B, 13% A
President 00: 37% Gore, 59% Bush
Analysis: This district includes many of the newly developed sections of south Orange County. It also claims the state's highest GOP registration. In '98, it gave Lungren one of his highest scores for governor.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 34 (46% D - 36% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Santa Ana, Anaheim, Garden Grove
Ethnicity: 22% W, 59% L, 3% B, 17% A
President 00: 53% Gore, 43% Bush
Analysis: This central Orange County district includes the area's largest Latino population and a large Southeast Asian community in Westminster and Garden Grove. If Latino voters turn out, it's a lock for Democrats, but it may require attention.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 35 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Huntington Beach, Irvine
Ethnicity: 66% W, 15% L, 2% B, 18% A
President 00: 40% Gore, 56% Bush
Analysis: This is the state's second strongest GOP registration margin, a coastal district that starts at Seal Beach and stretches nearly 40 miles south through Newport Beach to Dana Point.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 36 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)
Counties: San Diego, Riverside
Cities: San Diego, Temecula, El Cajon
Ethnicity: 74% W, 16% L, 4% B, 7% A
President 00: 36% Gore, 60% Bush
Analysis: Much of this district is desert, reaching all the way to the Salton Sea. But it also includes many of the rapidly growing new developments west of San Diego and south of Lake Elsinore, including Temecula.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 37 (36% D - 48% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Riverside
Cities: Corona, Moreno Valley
Ethnicity: 56% W, 31% L, 8% B, 5% A
President 00: 45% Gore, 52% Bush
Analysis: This district underwent major surgery, losing hundreds of miles along the Mexican border in exchange for new and more Republican territory in Palm Springs and the Moreno Valley.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 38 (30% D - 48% R - 17% DS)
Counties: San Diego, Orange
Cities: Oceanside, Escondido, San Clemente
Ethnicity: 63% W, 26% L, 4% B, 7% A
President 00: 39% Gore, 56% Bush
Analysis: The Camp Pendleton Marine base is found in this district, along with healthy GOP populations in southern Orange County and northern San Diego County. Still, Davis won this one by a whisker in '98.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 39 (41% D - 34% R - 18% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego
Ethnicity: 63% W, 19% L, 10% B, 15% A
President 00: 55% Gore, 40% Bush
Analysis: This was once safe Republican turf that has drifted from the GOP. Democrats won a hot contest here in '00 with just a 2-point registration edge due to a large independent vote that leans left.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 40 (48% D - 32% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Imperial, Riverside, San Diego
Cities: San Diego, Chula Vista
Ethnicity: 24% W, 60% L, 7% B, 9% A
President 00: 55% Gore, 41% Bush
Analysis: This district is the only one that touches the border with Mexico, stretching from downtown San Diego and exclusive Coronado on the coast to the Arizona border. Predominantly Latino, it includes a finger up to Palm Springs.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

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Assembly Districts

District 1 (46% D - 30% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Sonoma, Trinity
Cities: Eureka, Arcata, McKinleyville, Clearlake, Healdsburg, Ukiah
Ethnicity: 78% W, 12% L, 1% B, 2% A
President '00: Gore 49%, Bush 38%
Analysis: Although sparsely populated forest land around Weaverville was added to the old AD 1, it remains a north coast district extending from Oregon to the borders of Napa wine country.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 2 (37% D - 46% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Modoc, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Yolo
Cities: Redding, Red Bluff, Yuba City
Ethnicity: 76% W, 15% L, 1% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 30%, Bush 64%
Analysis: Modoc County was stitched onto the previous version of AD 2, where the population is concentrated along I-5 from a newly acquired chunk of Yolo County to the Oregon border. George Bush did better here than in any other Assembly district.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 3 (36% D - 43% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Butte, Lassen, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Yuba
Cities: Chico, Paradise, Truckee, Susanville, Grass Valley, Marysville, Oroville
Ethnicity: 81% W, 10% L, 2% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 36%, Bush 56%
Analysis: Modoc County was dropped for a heavily Republican swath along I-80 between Auburn and Truckee. Registration changed not a whit from 2000.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 4 (36% D - 45% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Alpine, El Dorado, Placer, Sacramento
Cities: Roseville, Rocklin, South Lake Tahoe, Auburn, Placerville
Ethnicity: 79% W, 11% L, 3% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 38%, Bush 57%
Analysis: In terms of land mass, AD 4 shrank considerably with the loss of Mono County and mountainous chunks of Amador and Calaveras counties. The contraction was needed to offset population growth in suburban areas north and east of Sacramento, including newly attached Rio Linda — Rush Limbaugh's favorite punching bag.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 5 (39% D - 43% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Placer, Sacramento
Cities: Citrus Heights, Folsom, Sacramento
Ethnicity: 75% W, 10% L, 5% B, 5% A
President '00: Gore 41%, Bush 53%
Analysis: Suburban — and Republican — Sacramento, including new areas south of I-80 and the moneyed bedroom community of Granite Bay along the western shore of Folsom Lake.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 6 (50% D - 28% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Marin, Sonoma
Cities: San Rafael, Novato, Petaluma, Rohnert Park, Mill Valley, Larkspur
Ethnicity: 78% W, 13% L, 2% B, 5% A
President '00: Gore 62%, Bush 30%
Analysis: Sebastopol was dropped, Sonoma was added to the old district — home base to U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 7 (53% D - 29% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Napa, Sonoma, Solano
Cities: Santa Rosa, Vallejo, Napa
Ethnicity: 59% W, 20% L, 8% B, 10% A
President '00: Gore 59%, Bush 34%
Analysis: The Sonoma Valley wine district was dropped to make room for the reunification of Santa Rosa and Vallejo — cities split in the previous plan. District registration is unchanged, however.
Bottom Line: Safe Democratic

District 8 (48% D - 31% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Solano, Yolo
Cities: Fairfield, Vacaville, Davis, Woodland, West Sacramento
Ethnicity: 57% W, 21% L, 8% B, 10% A
President '00: Gore 53%, Bush 41%
Analysis: The district was made more compact by shedding farm tracts north of Vacaville and Davis and Delta land along the Sacramento River south of Elk Grove. Most of its population brackets I-80 from West Sacramento to Vallejo.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 9 (58% D - 23% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Sacramento
Cities: Sacramento
Ethnicity: 37% W, 23% L, 17% B, 18% A
President '00: Gore 62%, Bush 29%
Analysis: An ethnically diverse urban district that takes in 90% of Sacramento and is mostly unchanged, adding only a southern bulge that consolidates growth areas north of Elk Grove.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 10 (41% D - 44% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Amador, El Dorado, Sacramento, San Joaquin
Cities: Lodi, Elk Grove, Stockton, Jackson
Ethnicity: 64% W, 15% L, 7% B, 11% A
President '00: Gore 42%, Bush 52%
Analysis: A much-altered district that has been very competitive. The seat shifted east, shedding some southern Sacramento suburbs but adding high-income Republican areas in El Dorado and Amador counties, including El Dorado Hills. Also gone is a portion of San Joaquin County northeast of Stockton. GOP registration is up slightly, making it more difficult for Democrats.
Bottom Line: Leans Republican

District 11 (54% D - 27% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Contra Costa
Cities: Concord, Antioch, Pittsburg, Martinez, Pinole
Ethnicity: 54% W, 21% L, 9% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 61%, Bush 34%
Analysis: An east-west district that stretches from Antioch on the east to Hercules on the west. Pleasant Hill was cut away, while the bulk of El Sobrante was added. A previously orphaned slice of Concord also was reunited with the mother ship.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 12 (55% D - 16% R - 25% DS)
Counties: San Francisco, San Mateo
Cities: San Francisco, Daly City
Ethnicity: 34% W, 14% L, 5% B, 44% A
President '00: Gore 73%, Bush 20%
Analysis: Home to the state's largest Asian voting bloc, and to the highest percentage of those who registered decline-to-state, this San Francisco district added Daly City, Colma and Broadmoor while losing a wedge of voters who live east of Hwy. 101.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 13 (58% D - 12% R - 23% DS)
Counties: San Francisco
Cities: San Francisco
Ethnicity: 49% W, 16% L, 10% B, 21% A
President '00: Gore 76%, Bush 13%
Analysis: Mayor Willie Brown's home port, this district takes that piece of San Francisco visible from Sam Spade's window: downtown and the waterfront, from the Golden Gate Bridge to the James Lick Fwy. and Hunters Point. Nearly twice as many voters register decline-to-state as Republican.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 14 (59% D - 18% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Contra Costa
Cities: Berkeley, Richmond, Oakland, San Pablo, Pleasant Hill, Lafayette, El Cerrito
Ethnicity: 51% W, 15% L, 16% B, 15% A
President '00: Gore 71%, Bush 20%

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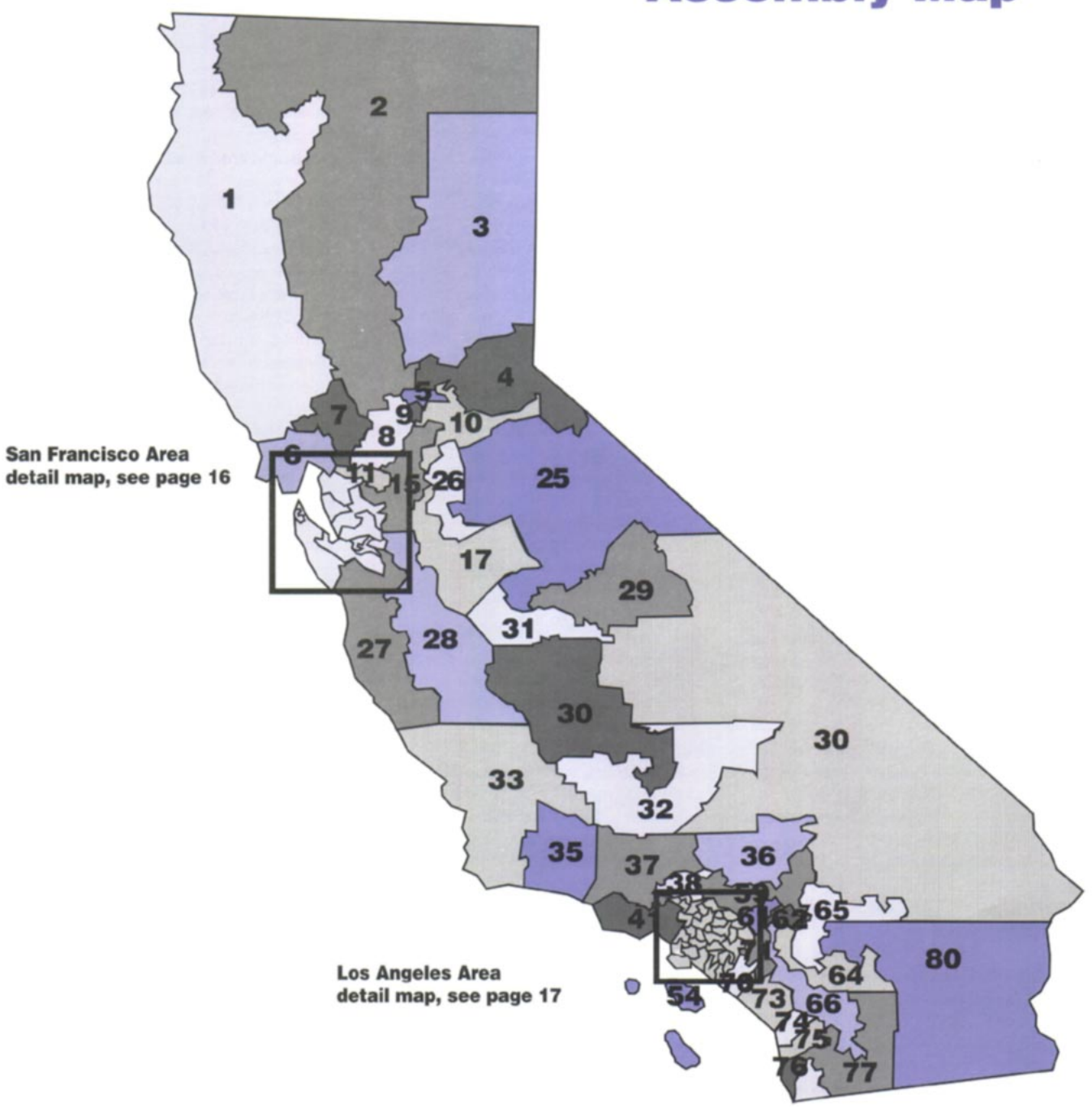
Analysis: Republican registration nearly doubled as this district shed Oakland and ballooned into Contra Costa communities such as Pleasant Hill, Moraga, Lafayette and Orinda. Unfortunately for the GOP, it still trails by 40 points because more than half of district voters live in Berkeley and Richmond.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 15 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Contra Costa, Sacramento, San Joaquin
Cities: Livermore, Walnut Creek, Danville, San Ramon, Elk Grove, Oakley
Ethnicity: 73% W, 14% L, 2% B, 9% A
President '00: Gore 47%, Bush 49%
Analysis: An odd souffle of East Bay and Central Valley, AD 15 shifted east, blending Walnut Creek with Elk Grove; Danville with a sliver of Stockton. The Altamont Pass and Sacramento Delta add rural flavor, while GOP suburbs such as Moraga, Dublin and Orinda have been removed. Registration is the same as 2000, yet Republicans still worry. GOP voters tend to be moderates, which is why McCain nearly overtook Bush in this district in the 2000 GOP primary.
Bottom Line: Leans Republican

District 16 (64% D - 12% R - 17% DS)
Counties: Alameda
Cities: Oakland, Piedmont, Alameda
Ethnicity: 27% W, 21% L, 30% B, 19% A
President '00: Gore 77%, Bush 13%
Analysis: Neighborhoods surrounding downtown Oakland and the waterfront are paired with tony Piedmont. Although ethnically balanced overall, whites and blacks dominate the ranks of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 17 (53% D - 35% R - 8% DS)
Counties: Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus

Assembly Map



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Cities: Stockton, Tracy, Merced, Los Banos, Atwater
Ethnicity: 37% W, 43% L, 6% B, 10% A
President '00: Gore 52%, Bush 44%
Analysis: Overhauled to solidify Democrats, this once-compact enclave surrounding Stockton and Tracy now resembles Italy with gout as it slices the Democratic heart out of Stockton, then sprawls south and east to capture a pair of Central Valley anchors – Los Banos and Merced. Latinos approach half the population but only a quarter of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 18 (56% D - 25% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Alameda
Cities: Hayward, San Leandro, Pleasanton, Dublin, Oakland
Ethnicity: 42% W, 24% L, 13% B, 17% A
President '00: Gore 65%, Bush 29%
Analysis: A tinkered-with East Bay district that lost Union City but added a small chunk of Oakland, more of Pleasanton and all of Dublin. In terms of voter registration, Republicans and Democrats treaded water, despite the patching and chiseling.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 19 (51% D - 27% R - 18% DS)
Counties: San Mateo
Cities: San Mateo, South San Francisco, San Bruno, Pacifica, Daly City, Burlingame, Foster City
Ethnicity: 52% W, 18% L, 3% B, 24% A
President '00: Gore 64%, Bush 31%
Analysis: Once a tight wishbone between the Bay and the Pacific south of San Francisco, this much-altered district lost Daly City but added Half Moon Bay and an enormous — but sparsely populated — chunk of San Mateo County west of Hwy. 35 to the Santa Cruz County line.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 20 (48% D - 28% R - 19% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Santa Clara
Cities: Fremont, Milpitas, Newark, Union City
Ethnicity: 38% W, 17% L, 4% B, 37% A
President '00: Gore 61%, Bush 34%
Analysis: Union City was added to this Fremont-centered district to compensate for the loss of a slice of San Jose. Less than half the Asian population is registered to vote, making whites the dominant voting bloc.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 21 (45% D - 33% R - 17% DS)
Counties: San Mateo, Santa Clara
Cities: Redwood City, San Jose, Palo Alto, Menlo Park, Los Altos, Los Gatos, San Carlos
Ethnicity: 64% W, 17% L, 4% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 59%, Bush 35%
Analysis: Republicans gained slightly when this Peninsula district was streamlined and shoved east to pick up Los Gatos. The heart of it remains an amalgam of well-heeled Peninsula communities such as Atherton, Woodside and Palo Alto blended with less-affluent East Palo Alto.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 22 (44% D - 30% R - 21% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: Sunnyvale, San Jose, Santa Clara, Mountain View, Cupertino
Ethnicity: 47% W, 14% L, 2% B, 34% A
President '00: Gore 60%, Bush 32%
Analysis: Cupertino and another chunk of Santa Clara were added, giving this Silicon Valley district the third largest Asian population in the Assembly.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 23 (53% D - 23% R - 19% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: San Jose
Ethnicity: 19% W, 47% L, 4% B, 27% A
President '00: Gore 67%, Bush 27%
Analysis: An elongated San Jose district with Hwy. 101 cleaving it in two. Half the registered voters are Latino and Asian.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 24 (46% D - 32% R - 17% DS)
Counties: Santa Clara
Cities: San Jose, Campbell, Saratoga, Santa Clara
Ethnicity: 56% W, 18% L, 3% B, 20% A
President '00: Gore 58%, Bush 36%
Analysis: A San Jose-based district altered significantly to strengthen it for Democrats. Cupertino and the Santa Clara County communities of Los Gatos and Monte Sereno were removed, while district boundaries were pushed northeast to take in the Fruitdale, Burbank and Midtown areas north of San Jose, as well as a finger extending into neighborhoods west of Alum Rock.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 25 (40% D - 44% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Calaveras, Madera, Mariposa, Mono, Stanislaus, Tuolumne
Cities: Modesto, Oakdale, Riverbank, Chowchilla
Ethnicity: 71% W, 19% L, 3% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 39%, Bush 55%
Analysis: Mono County and a slice of Calaveras County Gold Country were added to a district that straddles the central Sierra and slops into the Central Valley just enough to snare most of Modesto.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 26 (45% D - 42% R - 8% DS)
Counties: San Joaquin, Stanislaus
Cities: Stockton, Manteca, Ceres, Turlock, Modesto
Ethnicity: 52% W, 33% L, 4% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 44%, Bush 51%
Analysis: Republicans gained here when AD 17 was strengthened for Democrats, making this the Assembly's lone toss-up. Los Banos, Merced and other Hwy. 99 towns were removed in the south, while the eastern third of Stockton was added along with conservative foothill territory in San Joaquin County. Latinos are a third of the population but less than 20% of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Toss Up

District 27 (47% D - 29% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Monterey, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz
Cities: Santa Cruz, Morgan Hill, Seaside, Monterey, Marina, Pacific Grove
Ethnicity: 69% W, 18% L, 3% B, 6% A
President '00: Gore 57%, Bush 33%
Analysis: An affluent and scenic central coast district that includes Carmel, Pebble Beach and Big Sur and was changed only by the addition of Morgan Hill along Hwy. 101.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 28 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Monterey, San Benito, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz
Cities: Salinas, Watsonville, Gilroy, Hollister, San Jose
Ethnicity: 28% W, 59% L, 2% B, 9% A
President '00: Gore 60%, Bush 35%
Analysis: A mixture of rapidly growing suburbs south of San Jose and inland Monterey County farm towns along Hwy. 101. Morgan Hill was removed to accommodate heavy growth around San Jose. Nearly 40% of registered voters are Latino.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 29 (38% D - 49% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Madera, Tulare
Cities: Fresno, Clovis, Madera
Ethnicity: 55% W, 30% L, 4% B, 7% A
President '00: Gore 37%, Bush 59%
Analysis: A Republican fortress that takes in the Sierras, Kings Canyon National Park and Sequoia National Forest but derives its population base from the northern half of Fresno and newly acquired Madera.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 30 (49% D - 36% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Kern, Kings, Tulare
Cities: Hanford, Delano, Bakersfield, Wasco, Coalinga
Ethnicity: 26% W, 61% L, 7% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 47%, Bush 48%
Analysis: Earthquake Alley where voters live along I-5 on the west and Route 99 on the east. The southern portion of the old district was shaved off and replaced with territory east of Corcoran so that AD 30 now approaches Bakersfield from the north rather than from the south. Latinos are 40% of its registered voters.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 31 (52% D - 34% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Fresno, Tulare

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Cities: Fresno, Reedly, Selma, Sanger, Dinuba
Ethnicity: 22% W, 62% L, 6% B, 9% A
President '00: Gore 55%, Bush 41%
Analysis: Another heavily Latino Central Valley enclave, AD 31 used to run north-south. Now it runs east-west, with everything south of Selma and Dinuba having been lopped off. More than 50% of the population lives in the southern half of Fresno.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 32 (37% D - 53% R - 10% DS)
Counties: Kern, San Bernardino
Cities: Bakersfield, Ridgecrest, Tehachapi
Ethnicity: 65% W, 24% L, 5% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 31%, Bush 65%
Analysis: The bulk of Bakersfield makes up this Republican bastion that also pushes east into the Mojave and south to the I-5 Grapevine.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 33 (37% D - 43% R - 13% DS)
Counties: San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara
Cities: Santa Maria, Lompoc, San Luis Obispo, Atascadero, Paso Robles
Ethnicity: 64% W, 27% L, 3% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 54%
Analysis: A Republican coastal district centered on the city of San Luis Obispo and including the western half of Santa Barbara County.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 34 (30% D - 46% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Inyo, Kern, San Bernardino, Tulare
Cities: Visalia, Tulare, Porterville, Barstow
Ethnicity: 52% W, 38% L, 4% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 36%, Bush 60%
Analysis: Although still a strong GOP district, one of AD 34's population bases shifted north. Lost were any part of Bakersfield and Tehachapi in Kern County and the San Bernardino County communities of Hesperia and Victorville; added was the bulk of Tulare County. The resigning GOP incumbent's home also was excised, forcing him to run in an adjoining district.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 35 (40% D - 33% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Santa Barbara, Ventura
Cities: Ventura, Santa Barbara, Oxnard, Carpinteria
Ethnicity: 54% W, 38% L, 2% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 53%, Bush 39%
Analysis: AD 35 lost most of its Ventura County territory, but virtually none of its Ventura County residents. The district is coastal, with two major population centers – Santa Barbara/Goleta and Ventura/Oxnard. Latinos make up a third of the district's population but only 18% of its registered voters. Although registration indicates "safe" for Democrats, the GOP will always watch it because Republicans Bill Jones and Chuck Quackenbush carried the district in 1998 races for secretary of state and insurance commissioner.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 36 (37% D - 45% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Lancaster, Palmdale, Victorville, Adelanto
Ethnicity: 52% W, 30% L, 12% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 55%
Analysis: AD 36 used to be a spitting image of Oklahoma; now it looks like Ohio. More than half the population lives in a western bulge around Palmdale and Lancaster, with another 20% situated in Victorville and Adelanto to the east.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 37 (35% D - 46% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Ventura
Cities: Thousand Oaks, Camarillo, Simi Valley, Los Angeles, Moorpark
Ethnicity: 67% W, 23% L, 2% B, 6% A
President '00: Gore 43%, Bush 51%
Analysis: Once a Ventura County coastal district, the new version never quite touches the water but skirts inland to encompass Thousand Oaks, wanders north of Santa Clarita, then takes in a large chunk of largely unpopulated Los Angeles County from the I-5 Grapevine south to Castaic Lake.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 38 (36% D - 46% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Ventura
Cities: Los Angeles, Santa Clarita, Simi Valley
Ethnicity: 65% W, 20% L, 3% B, 9% A
President '00: Gore 44%, Bush, 50%
Analysis: Santa Clarita and residential neighborhoods surrounding, but not including, San Fernando join with two-thirds of Simi Valley to form a district dramatically strengthened for the GOP.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 39 (61% D - 20% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, San Fernando
Ethnicity: 13% W, 74% L, 4% B, 7% A
President '00: Gore 69%, Bush 24%
Analysis: Two freeways – I-405 and I-210 – bracket this San Fernando Valley district split in two by yet another freeway, I-5. More than half of registered voters are Latino.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 40 (49% D - 32% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 42% W, 39% L, 5% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 59%, Bush 34%
Analysis: Republicans gained some registration as the district shifted west, losing territory between I-405 and the Hollywood Fwy. but pushing north of Roscoe Blvd. around CSU-Northridge, and west and south of Topanga Canyon Rd. Latinos are nearly 40% of the population but only 16% of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 41 (49% D - 31% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Ventura
Cities: Los Angeles, Santa Monica, Oxnard, Port Hueneme, Calabasas
Ethnicity: 67% W, 20% L, 3% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 62%, Bush 32%
Analysis: A coastal district that stretches along the Pacific from newly acquired Oxnard and Port Hueneme in Ventura County to Santa Monica in Los Angeles County.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 42 (56% D - 22% R - 17% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Beverly Hills, West Hollywood
Ethnicity: 75% W, 10% L, 4% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 72%, Bush 21%
Analysis: A tony chunk of Los Angeles that was pushed north to Burbank Blvd. but stripped of the piece of its southern flank that includes UCLA.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 43 (46% D - 33% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Glendale, Los Angeles, Burbank
Ethnicity: 50% W, 29% L, 3% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 56%, Bush 36%
Analysis: Democrats reinforced this district — a 2000 battleground — by extending a finger west of Vineland Ave. The district also lost neighborhoods between Forest Lawn and Occidental College. Latinos and Asians are 41% of the population but 22% of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 44 (48% D - 34% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Pasadena, Los Angeles, Arcadia, Temple City
Ethnicity: 38% W, 30% L, 10% B, 20% A
President '00: Gore 56%, Bush 37%
Analysis: An ethnically diverse district that stretches along I-210 from La Canada-Flintridge on the west to Duarte on the east and anchored in the south by Pasadena. The addition of Arcadia and Los Angeles neighborhoods around Occidental College give a slight boost to Democratic registration.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 45 (62% D - 16% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 12% W, 68% L, 2% B, 16% A
President '00: Gore 75%, Bush 16%
Analysis: A mid-Los Angeles district centered on Elysian Park and Dodger Stadium and anchored on the south by a newly added chunk of East Los Angeles. More than half of

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registered voters are Latino in the home base of former Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

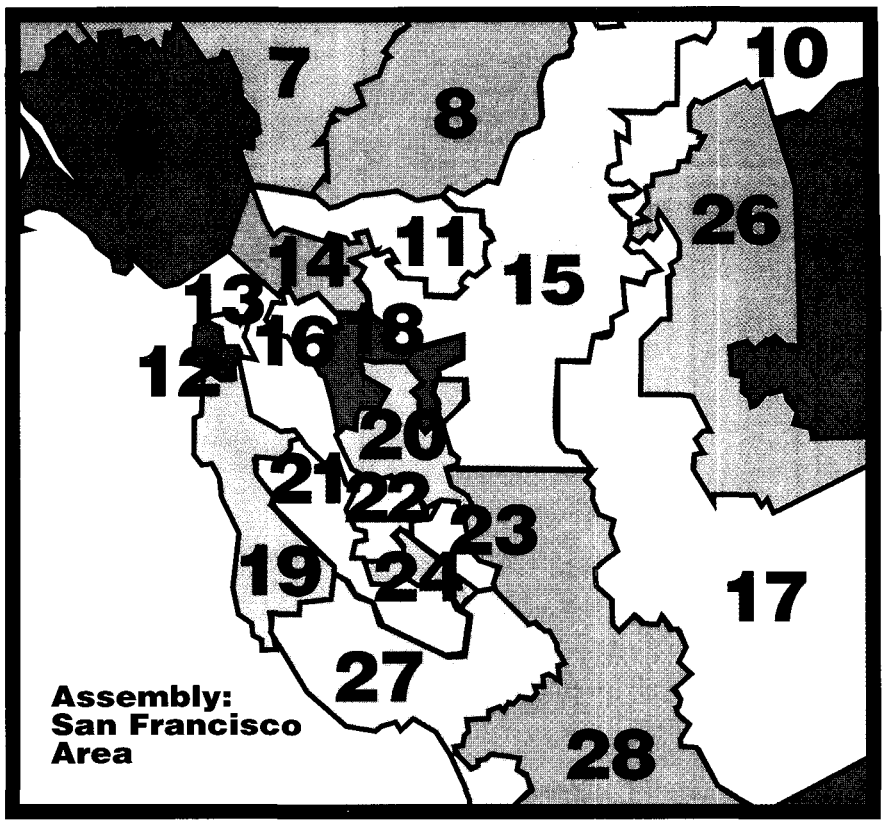
District 46 (71% D - 11% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Huntington Park, Maywood
Ethnicity: 4% W, 85% L, 6% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 81%, Bush 11%
Analysis: The Assembly's third most-Democratic district, AD 46 is home to Staples Center, the Los Angeles Convention Center, Civic Center — and the highest percentage of Latino residents and voters of any Assembly district.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 47 (68% D - 14% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Culver City
Ethnicity: 29% W, 26% L, 31% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 79%, Bush 14%
Analysis: An ethnically balanced district dominated politically by blacks, AD 47 essentially is unchanged — with the exception of a small bulge on the northwest that includes UCLA. The district also includes Ladera Heights and neighborhoods surrounding Inglewood.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 48 (75% D - 9% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 5% W, 52% L, 30% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 86%, Bush 7%
Analysis: The second most-Democratic Assembly district, AD 48 was stretched north with the addition of territory from Pico to Beverly Blvds. and south with the addition of Westmont. Gone are all neighborhoods east of I-110. Although Latinos are 52% of the population, they make up only 18% of registered voters — leaving the political high ground to blacks for the moment.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 49 (50% D - 27% R - 19% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: El Monte, Alhambra, Monterey Park, Rosemead, San Gabriel
Ethnicity: 12% W, 47% L, 1% B, 39% A
President '00: Gore 61%, Bush 32%
Analysis: AD 49 shifted east, losing all things Los Angeles west of Alhambra but gaining El Monte and South El Monte on the east and San Marino and East San Gabriel on the north. Latinos are 36% of registered voters, while 28% are Asian.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 50 (64% D - 19% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: South Gate, Lynwood, Bellflower, Bell Gardens, Downey, Bell
Ethnicity: 11% W, 79% L, 5% B, 3% A



President '00: Gore 71%, Bush 22%
Analysis: The district snakes through Latino territory, from Commerce in the north to Bellflower in the south. Lynwood and Bellflower were added to a much re-configured district that lost Maywood and Huntington Park.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 51 (65% D - 17% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Inglewood, Hawthorne, Los Angeles, Gardena, Lawndale
Ethnicity: 14% W, 44% L, 32% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 74%, Bush 20%
Analysis: Inglewood is the political heavyweight in a district that borders Los Angeles International Airport. Latino population is rising but the biggest bloc of registered voters is black.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 52 (75% D - 8% R - 9% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Compton, Paramount, Long Beach
Ethnicity: 3% W, 65% L, 29% B, 1% A
President '00: Gore 86%, Bush 8%
Analysis: One of the state's least Republican districts, AD 52 still is dominated politically by blacks, although Latinos are gaining population and registered voters. The district once stopped at Firestone Blvd. on the north, but the overhauled version extends to Martin Luther King Jr., taking in neighborhoods east of I-110 near Memorial Coliseum. Lynwood was dropped, while a sliver of Long Beach was tacked on in the south.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 53 (42% D - 36% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Los Angeles, Torrance, Redondo Beach, Lomita, El Segundo
Ethnicity: 61% W, 17% L, 3% B, 17% A
President '00: Gore 53%, Bush 40%
Analysis: A competitive coastal district that slips along the Pacific from Santa Monica on the north to Palos Verdes Estates in the south and includes LAX and a Chevron refinery. It has been bolstered slightly for Democrats by extending its boundaries beyond I-10 in the north and adding new neighborhoods east of Marina del Rey to I-405.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 54 (46% D - 36% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Long Beach, Los Angeles, Rancho Palos Verdes
Ethnicity: 50% W, 26% L, 9% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 52%, Bush 41%
Analysis: Another competitive coastal district centered on the port of Long Beach, AD 53 is virtually unchanged. It has been an expensive battleground in the past and could be again once the current Democratic incumbent is termed out.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 55 (57% D - 25% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles

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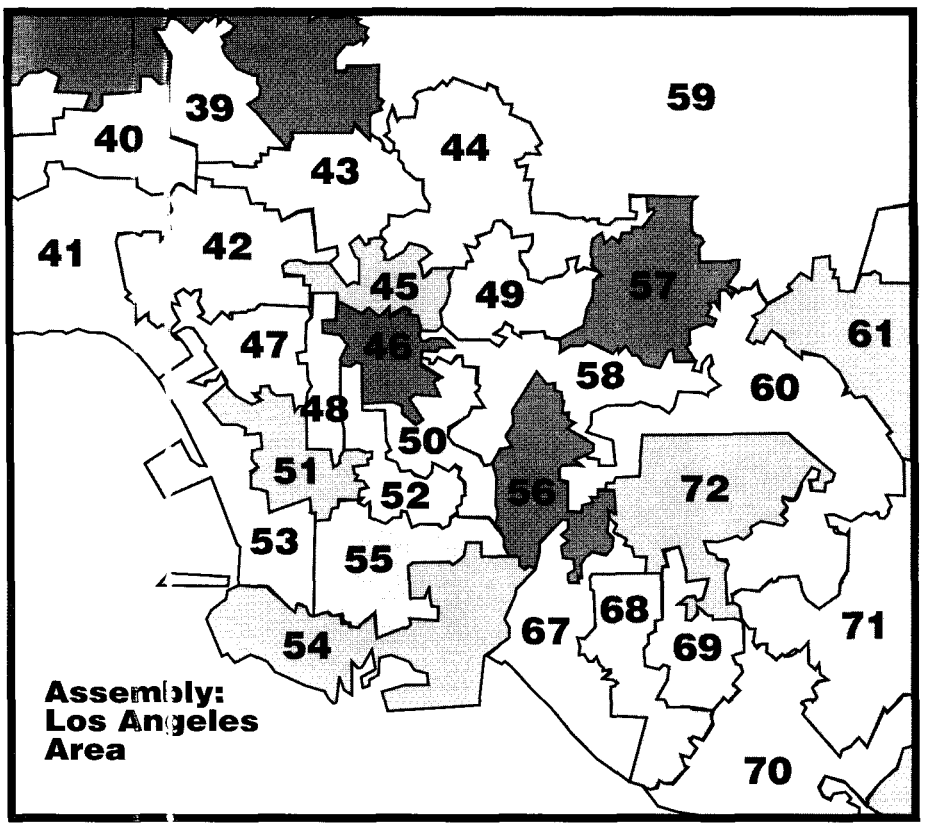

Cities: Long Beach, Los Angeles, Carson, Lakewood
Ethnicity: 21% W, 45% L, 15% B, 15% A
President '00: Gore 63%, Bush 30%
Analysis: Republican registration jumped in AD 55 when the district's eastern boundary was pushed well into Lakewood to help Democratic fortunes in troublesome AD 56. A chunk of Compton was removed as well. A quarter of the district's registered voters are Latino.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 56 (52% D - 30% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Orange
Cities: Norwalk Buena Park, Cerritos, Whittier
Ethnicity: 24% W, 52% L, 4% B, 18% A
President '00: Gore 58%, Bush 37%
Analysis: Democrats apparently had had enough of battles in the old AD 56 and so dismantled it, shoving it east, north and south and creating a two-piece Mutt and Jeff that straddles the LA-Orange County line. Artesia, once the eastern anchor, now sits in the west. Bellflower, once the heart of it, has been removed, as have Downey and most of Lakewood. Santa Fe Springs and South Whittier were added to the top, while at the bottom, the district dips into Orange to capture Buena Park
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 57 (53% D - 28% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: West Covina, Baldwin Park, Azusa, Covina, La Puente
Ethnicity: 19% W, 63% L, 4% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 61%, Bush 33%
Analysis: Once centered on El Monte, AD 57 has been transported east along I-10 to now center on West Covina and its smaller sister — Covina. Hacienda Heights was removed along with El Monte.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 58 (56% D - 28% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Cities: Downey, Montebello, Pico Rivera, Whittier
Ethnicity: 18% W, 67% L, 1% B, 12% A
President '00: Gore 61%, Bush 33%
Analysis: Like other districts in this area, AD 58 was recast on the mapmaker's forge, extending southwest to gather in Downey but ceding Norwalk in the south and South El Monte in the north. Hacienda Heights also was added, as was the bulk of East LA. As a result, the spread between Republicans and Democrats narrowed considerably — but not enough to make the GOP competitive.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 59 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Hesperia, Apple Valley, Glendora, Claremont, San Dimas, La Verne, San Bernardino
Ethnicity: 65% W, 21% L, 5% B, 7% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 54%
Analysis: The population was split evenly between two counties when map-makers added the San Bernardino communities of Apple Valley and Hesperia to what had been an exclusively LA district. The result, more firmly Republican than its predecessor, also takes in a huge chunk of the Angeles National Forest and Lake Arrowhead.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 60 (32% D - 49% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, Orange, San Bernardino
Cities: Chino Hills, Diamond Bar, Anaheim, La Mirada, Orange, Yorba Linda, La Habra
Ethnicity: 47% W, 24% L, 3% B, 24% A
President '00: Gore 39%, Bush 56%
Analysis: The only resemblance between this district and the previous AD 60 is the number because the old version was obliterated to make way for a solid Republican district. Once a competitive district confined to LA County, AD 60 shed West Covina, Hacienda Heights and most of Whittier, while sliding into San Bernardino County to pick up the GOP stronghold of Chino Hills, and dipping into Orange County for half of Yorba Linda and a tidy slice of Anaheim. As a result, a 5% Democratic registration edge was turned on its head.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 61 (51% D - 32% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles, San Bernardino
Cities: Ontario, Pomona, Chino, Montclair
Ethnicity: 25% W, 59% L, 8% B, 6% A
President '00: Gore 56%, Bush 38%
Analysis: If Republicans were made safer in AD 60, Democrats did themselves a turn in AD 61, which had been represented by both parties at various times during the 1990s. Chino Hills was removed, while the rest of Pomona was added, increasing the registration edge for Democrats from 11 to 19 points.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 62 (58% D - 27% R - 10% DS)
Counties: San Bernardino
Cities: Fontana, Rialto, San Bernardino, Colton
Ethnicity: 21% W, 60% L, 14% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 65%, Bush 29%
Analysis: An Inland Empire district that Latinos eventually will represent. Stretched along I-10, it blends the industrial areas of Fontana with Rialto, Colton and the southern half of San Bernardino.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 63 (39% D - 45% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Riverside, San Bernardino
Cities: Rancho Cucamonga, Redlands, Upland, San Bernardino, Highland
Ethnicity: 51% W, 30% L, 9% B, 7% A
President '00: Gore 44%, Bush 50%
Analysis: A district that meanders around San Bernardino in search of Republican precincts and finds them in affluent areas such

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as Redlands and Rancho Cucamonga and middle-class regions such as Upland.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 64 (35% D - 49% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Riverside
Cities: Riverside, Moreno Valley, Palm Desert
Ethnicity: 55% W, 29% L, 9% B, 5% A
President '00: Gore 44%, Bush 51%
Analysis: For sentimental reasons, a small piece of the old AD 64 was retained in the northwest corner of the new district, represented by pieces of the city of Riverside. The rest of the district — new territory all — bolts south along I-15 to skirt Lake Elsinor, then sprawls east across the desert to anchor on Palm Desert, Indian Wells and Rancho Mirage.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 65 (37% D - 47% R - 11% DS)
Counties: Riverside, San Bernardino
Cities: Moreno Valley, Hemet, Yucaipa, Perris, Banning, San Jacinto
Ethnicity: 61% W, 27% L, 6% B, 3% A
President '00: Gore 42%, Bush 52%
Analysis: An enormous chunk of unpopulated San Bernardino County north of Twentynine Palms was removed, as was half of heavily populated Moreno Valley on the west. Hemet and Perris were added as the district pushed south along the crowded corridor of I-215.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 66 (31% D - 52% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Riverside, San Diego
Cities: Riverside, Temecula, Murrieta, Lake Elsinore
Ethnicity: 56% W, 33% L, 4% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 38%, Bush 58%
Analysis: A reconstituted district that retreats from the desert communities between Lake Elsinor and La Quinta but slides north to take in about a third of the city of Riverside and all of Rubidoux.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 67 (33% D - 48% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Huntington Beach, Anaheim, Cypress, Westminser
Ethnicity: 62% W, 19% L, 2% B, 15% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 54%
Analysis: Coastal Orange County, with an inland finger reaching up to Cypress and Stanton.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 68 (35% D - 46% R - 15% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Costa Mesa, Garden Grove, Westminster, Fountain Valley, Anaheim
Ethnicity: 42% W, 29% L, 1% B, 25% A
President '00: Gore 42%, Bush 52%
Analysis: AD 68 was strengthened for Republicans by shoving it toward the water, removing Buena Park in the north and adding Fountain Valley and Costa Mesa in the south. Latinos and Asians together make up more than 50% of the population but less than a third of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 69 (52% D - 32% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Santa Ana, Anaheim, Garden Grove
Ethnicity: 13% W, 74% L, 1% B, 10% A
President '00: Gore 58%, Bush 37%
Analysis: Santa Ana dominates one of the Assembly's top Latino districts. In 1996, a Republican represented AD 69. Those days are gone, even without much change district geography.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 70 (28% D - 52% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Irvine, Newport Beach, Tustin, Lake Forest
Ethnicity: 66% W, 13% L, 2% B, 17% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 56%
Analysis: The prosperous Orange County coast is attached to Irvine and newly acquired Lake Forest to create a secure Republican island.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 71 (28% D - 55% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Orange, Riverside
Cities: Corona, Mission Viejo, Rancho Santa Margarita, Orange, Norco
Ethnicity: 63% W, 24% L, 3% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 36%, Bush 60%
Analysis: The state's most Republican Assembly district lost a piece of Anaheim and Lake Forest in Orange County but gained Corona in Riverside County.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 72 (34% D - 49% R - 13% DS)
Counties: Orange
Cities: Fullerton, Anaheim, Placentia, Orange, Brea, Yorba Linda
Ethnicity: 46% W, 38% L, 2% B, 11% A
President '00: Gore 39%, Bush 56%
Analysis: Half of Yorba Linda and a slice of Anaheim were lopped off to bolster GOP fortunes in AD 60, but another portion of Anaheim was added, keeping the district solidly in Republican hands. With Anaheim anchoring the south, the rest of the district is a triangle, with Fullerton and Placentia at the base and Brea at the top.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 73 (28% D - 51% R - 16% DS)
Counties: Orange, San Diego
Cities: Oceanside, Laguna Niguel, San Clemente, San Juan Capistrano, Dana Point, Laguna Hills
Ethnicity: 65% W, 22% L, 4% B, 6% A
President '00: Gore 38%, Bush 57%
Analysis: A wing of coastline, from Laguna Niguel in the north to Oceanside in the south. The Camp Pendleton Marine Corps complex lies inland.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 74 (30% D - 47% R - 17% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: Vista, Carlsbad, Escondido, Encinitas, San Marcos
Ethnicity: 65% W, 26% L, 2% B, 5% A
President '00: Gore 40%, Bush 54%
Analysis: Coastal San Diego County, from Carlsbad to Del Mar, AD 74 stretches inland far enough east to pick up half of Escondido and north to take in all of Vista. Latino population figures are a political illusion as they make up 9% of registered voters.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 75 (30% D - 47% R - 19% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego, Escondido, Poway
Ethnicity: 64% W, 13% L, 2% B, 18% A
President '00: Gore 41%, Bush 53%
Analysis: An inland San Diego district that just touches the Pacific at La Jolla near UC San Diego. The district contains some of San Diego's most notable landmarks, including the Wild Animal Park and Torrey Pines Golf Course.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 76 (41% D - 33% R - 18% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego
Ethnicity: 62% W, 21% L, 6% B, 8% A
President '00: Gore 54%, Bush 38%
Analysis: A revamped district that previously lay inland, AD 76 now is a coastal enclave stretching from Calumet Park on the north to the Embarcadero Marina on the south. The district skirts the northern edge of San Diego harbor and includes downtown San Diego, the airport, Mission Bay and Balboa Park — home to the city's zoo. The overhaul strengthened Democrats.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 77 (32% D - 46% R - 15% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: El Cajon, La Mesa, Santee, San Diego
Ethnicity: 75% W, 15% L, 3% B, 4% A
President '00: Gore 37%, Bush 56%
Analysis: This used to be a compact urban district from El Cajon in the north down through La Mesa to Chula Vista. Now, it is a desert district that starts at El Cajon and flees across I-8 to the Imperial County border, then north to encompass Borrego Springs. Most of the people are still concentrated in the same area, now the district's southwest corner around El Cajon, La Mesa and Santee.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 78 (43% D - 35% R - 16% DS)
Counties: San Diego

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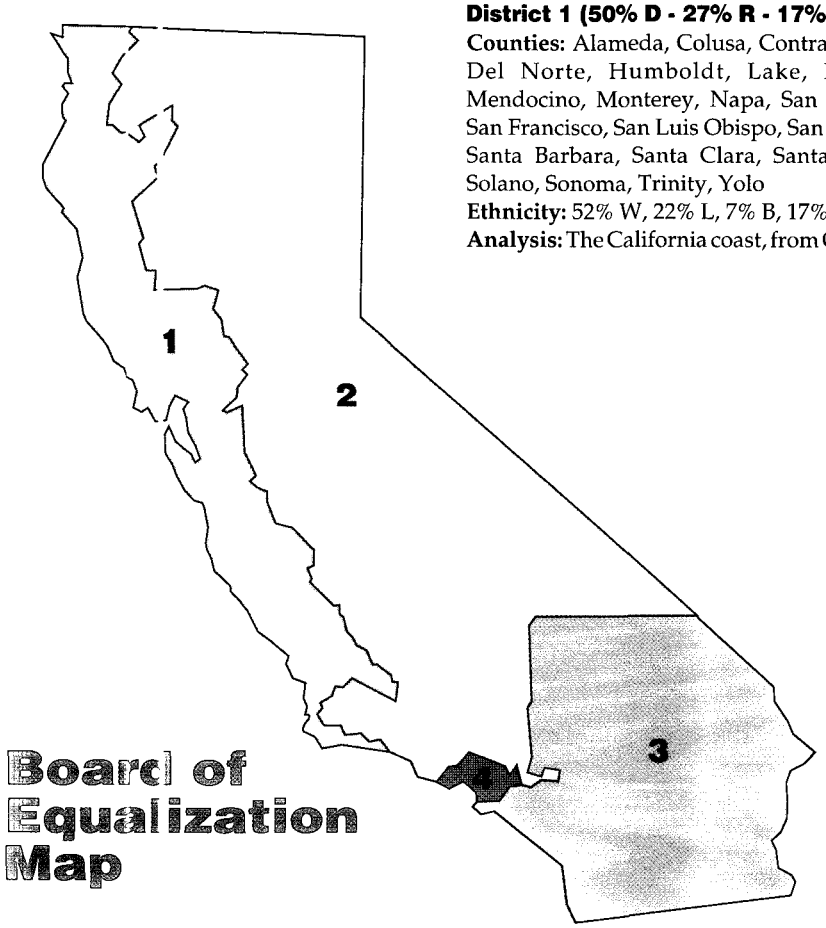
Cities: San Diego, Chula Vista, Lemon Grove
Ethnicity: 39% W, 28% L, 13% B, 17% A
President '00: Gore 51%, Bush 43%
Analysis: The only Assembly district to contain not one precinct of its former self. AD 78 had proved a troublesome battleground throughout the 1990s, and Democrats dealt with the problem by simply obliterating it and shifting the number inland. AD 78 had sliced along the coast, from Del Mar and La Jolla in the north to the Mexican border, but it now sits east of I-805, from Mission Trails Park in the north to Chula Vista in the south. Although still competitive, it is decidedly more favorable for Democrats.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

District 79 (47% D - 30% R - 15% DS)
Counties: San Diego
Cities: San Diego, Chula Vista, National City, Imperial Beach, Coronado
Ethnicity: 24% W, 57% L, 8% B, 9% A
President '00: Gore 56%, Bush 37%
Analysis: AD 79 contributed Democrats to the revamping of AD 78 by ceding about a third of Chula Vista and a chunk of inland San Diego east of Euclid Ave. It added a coastal swath from the old AD 78, from North Island to Imperial Beach and the Mexican border. Latinos are 40% of registered voters in what remains a solid Democratic district.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 80 (47% D - 35% R - 13% DS)
Counties: San Diego, Imperial
Cities: Indio, Cathedral City, El Centro
Ethnicity: 33% W, 60% L, 4% B, 2% A
President '00: Gore 52%, Bush 43%
Analysis: Tinkering around the edges of this large desert district so changed its character that a veteran Republican retired after 23 years in the Legislature — despite having two terms remaining to him. Rancho Mirage, La Quinta and Indian Wells were removed, as were parts of Hemet and Valle Vista. More than a third of registered voters are Latino.
Bottom Line: Leans Democrat

Board of Equalization Districts

The five-member State Board of Equalization oversees a bureaucracy that collects sales and gas taxes, assesses utility properties and decides appeals to various taxes. Members are considered constitutional officers and represent four districts (the fifth member is the state controller). They are elected to four-year terms and are subject to term limits. Once a political backwater, the BOE has become a parking spot for termed-out lawmakers waiting for more desirable opportunities. For instance, Assembly members Carole Migden (D-San Francisco) and Bill Leonard (R-Redlands) both are seeking seats on the board in 2002, while former Assemblyman Dean Andal (R-Stockton) is leaving to run for controller.



District 1 (50% D - 27% R - 17% DS)
Counties: Alameda, Colusa, Contra Costa, Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Marin, Mendocino, Monterey, Napa, San Benito, San Francisco, San Luis Obispo, San Mateo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Solano, Sonoma, Trinity, Yolo
Ethnicity: 52% W, 22% L, 7% B, 17% A
Analysis: The California coast, from Oregon to Santa Barbara. The previous version, also Democratic in nature, was modified by trading inland counties in the far north for a coastal strip between Monterey and Santa Barbara counties.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

District 2 (42% D - 42% R - 12% DS)
Counties: Alpine, Amador, Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Fresno, Glenn, Inyo, Kern, Kings, Lassen, Los Angeles, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sacramento, San Bernardino, San Joaquin, Santa Barbara, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tehama, Tulare, Tuolumne, Ventura, Yuba
Ethnicity: 53% W, 32% L, 6% B, 6% A
Analysis: The bulk California's geography sits inside this district, which extends from Oregon to the coast at Ventura County. It is slightly more Republican than the district it replaces, thanks to the annexation of northern counties and the loss of urban Sacramento and coastal Santa Barbara County.
Bottom Line: Leans Republican

District 3 (35% D - 45% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego
Ethnicity: 53% W, 30% L, 5% B, 10% A
Analysis: BOE 3 takes in both the Inland Empire and coastal California south of Los Angeles County.
Bottom Line: Safe Republican

District 4 (55% D - 26% R - 14% DS)
Counties: Los Angeles
Ethnicity: 29% W, 46% L, 10% B, 13% A
Analysis: Most of Los Angeles County, with the exception of a sliver of Long Beach and the city of Palos Verdes.
Bottom Line: Safe Democrat

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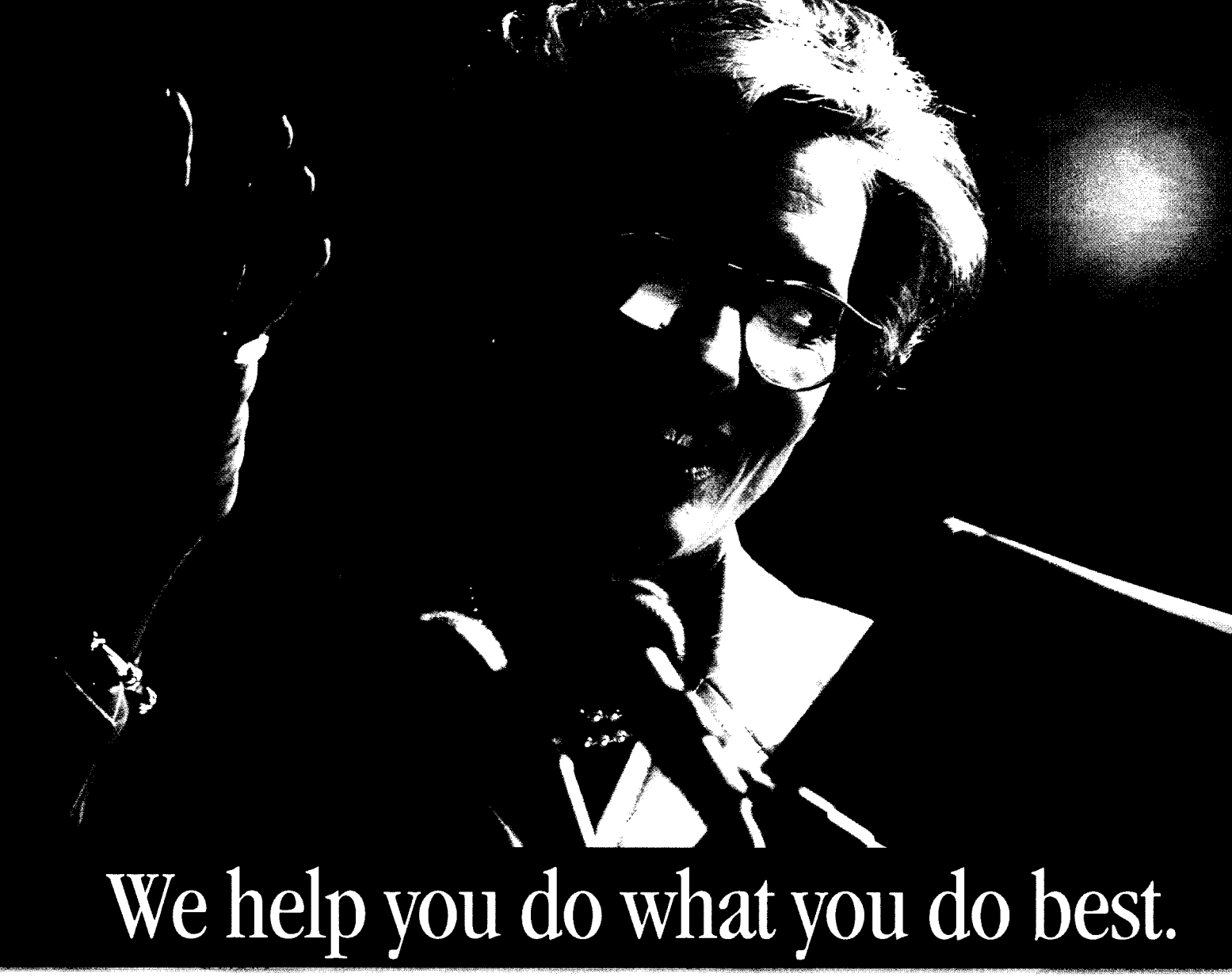

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Voters
continued from page 14

politicians than on voters. "Say you have an incumbent congressman who now has new voters in his district. He ... has to spend money and time nurturing those constituents," Alexander said.

Drawing districts to protect incumbents also is a common practice whenever it is politically feasible. And especially in California's case, it isn't surprising considering the state's solidly Democratic state Senate and Assembly, and a Democratic governor, said Mark Rush, associate professor of political science at Washington and Lee University, in Lexington, Virginia.

"It's called a 'sweetheart gerrymander,' and it's typical," says Rush, author of *Does Redistricting Make a Difference?*

But even though Democrats wield decisive power in both state houses, party leaders also knew that trying to wangle additional seats could cost them in the long run. Carving up districts could mean diluting reliable, Democrat strongholds, creating more marginal districts. GOP challenges in those areas posed the likelihood of more competitive, expensive races. Republican incumbents, with little real say in the matter, were only too happy to sign on to a plan that didn't attempt to wrestle additional seats from them.

Equally important, legislators were looking to fashion a blueprint that could immunize them against the inevitable court challenges that come with redistricting. With bipartisan support for the maps, they hoped to avoid the experience they faced in the last reapportionment when the court was forced to adopt a map because the Legislature was too divided.

"If a redistricting plan goes to court, both parties lose control. And once it goes to court, you never know what the outcome will be," says Alexander. "It also lengthens the process and you don't know what's going to happen in the next months or in time for the next election."

Case in point: The maps finally adopted by the court in 1991 included 44 seats in the Assembly, Senate and Congress that were considered competitive for both parties. By comparison, only 17 seats fit that category this time around.

"We were guided primarily by two things; population shifts and what the courts have said," Kuwata explained. "Why didn't we gerrymander so we could get 60 or 65 seats [in the Assembly]? It probably wouldn't have been constitutional."

Latinos fear setback

But others say a slightly bruised democratic process may be the ultimate toll that California's incumbent-friendly plan takes on the electorate. One result of protecting incumbents might be that ethnic and other voting minorities feel shut out or underrepresented, as underscored by a lawsuit filed by the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF).

California's Latino population has grown in size and significantly increased its political participation since the last redistricting 10 years ago. The lawsuit contends that growth is not adequately reflected in the new maps.

"This will set us back 10 years politically," says Xavier Flores, vice president of San Fernando Valley's Mexican-American Political Association and executive director of Pueblo y Salud. The organizations have spent years registering thousands of Latino voters in the areas targeted by the MALDEF suit. In two San Fernando Valley congressional districts, he said, the new lines reduce the Latino share of the electorate.

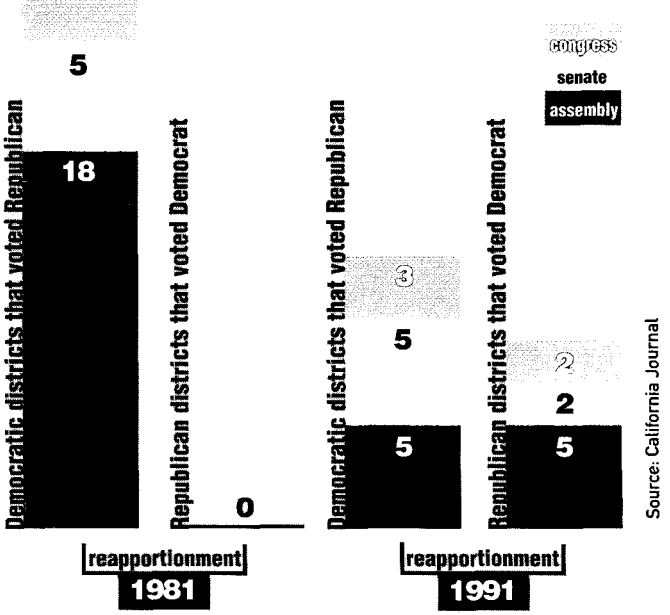
"Any scientist who knows about voting patterns would tell you that our vote has been diluted to the point where we can no longer elect a [non-incumbent] candidate," Flores said. "This is a blatant violation of our voting rights."

Mario Cano, a community activist who spent years registering Latinos to vote, is the suit's plaintiff. She sees a larger principle at stake in pursuing the action. "We are seeing a repetition of history," she says, alluding to tactics used to disenfranchise African-American voters in the South prior to the Voting Rights Act of 1965. "By not saying that this is a violation of basic voting rights, we run the risk of this happening to someone else."

Lisa Plendl is a freelance writer in Long Beach. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

Crossing lines

Registration is not always an indicator of how a district will vote. This chart shows how many districts with favorable registration were won by a candidate from the other party in the first election following the 1981 and 1991 redistricting.



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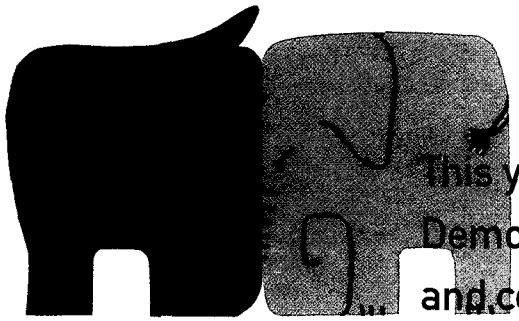

This year's redistricting left California safe terrain for Democrats with nearly two-thirds of the Assembly, Senate and congressional districts in their column. And Democrats are far more concentrated in districts where they dominate, even exceeding 70% in three Assembly districts. With competitive districts at a bare minimum, few races are likely to sport much flash or cash except during the primary campaign season.

Where the lines

Top Assembly, Senate and congressional districts with the most . . .

DEMOCRATS

AD52	Los Angeles	75%
AD48	Los Angeles	75%
AD46	Los Angeles	71%
SD26	Los Angeles	68%
SD25	Los Angeles	63%
SD22	Los Angeles	62%
CD35	Los Angeles	69%
CD33	Los Angeles	68%
CD9	Oakland	64%

REPUBLICANS

AD71	Orange County	55%
AD32	Central Valley	53%
AD70	Orange County	52%
SD33	Orange	54%
SD18	Bakersfield	50%
SD35	Huntington Beach	50%
CD48	Irvine	53%
CD22	Bakersfield	52%
CD42	Mission Viejo	51%

DECLINE TO STATES

AD12	San Francisco	25%
AD13	San Francisco	23%
AD22	San Jose	21%
SD8	San Francisco	21%
SD3	San Francisco	20%
SD13	San Jose	19%
CD8	San Francisco	24%
CD12	San Francisco	19%
CD15	San Jose	19%

ASIANS

AD12	San Francisco	44%
AD49	Los Angeles	39%
AD20	Fremont	37%
SD8	San Francisco	35%
SD10	Fremont	33%
SD13	San Jose	28%
CD15	San Jose	30%
CD12	San Francisco	30%
CD8	San Francisco	30%

BLACKS

AD51	Los Angeles	32%
AD47	Los Angeles	31%
AD48	Los Angeles	30%
SD25	Los Angeles	33%
SD26	Los Angeles	30%
SD9	Oakland	25%
CD35	Los Angeles	34%
CD33	Los Angeles	30%
CD9	Oakland	27%

LATINOS

AD46	Los Angeles	85%
AD50	Los Angeles	79%
AD39	Los Angeles	74%
SD30	Norwalk	75%
SD22	Los Angeles	73%
SD24	West Covina	65%
CD34	Los Angeles	77%
CD38	Pomona	71%
CD31	Los Angeles	70%

Source: UC Berkeley Institute for Governmental Studies

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fall

democrat

republican

competitive

SAFE SEATS

A "safe" district for Democrats had a 25% registration edge in 1980, 20% in 1990 and about 10% today. Independents voting Democrat account for much of the change. The number of safe seats drawn into the last three reapportionment maps also changed considerably due largely to their different origin — the 1980 maps were finalized by referendum, the 1990 maps by the court and the 2000 plan by the Democrat-dominated legislature.

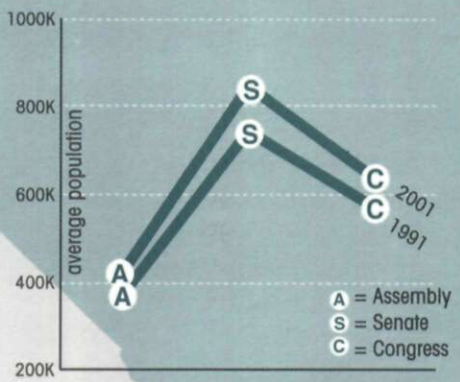
Where "decline-to-states" trump Republicans

In nine legislative districts, voters registered as "decline to state" are so numerous, they outnumber Republicans.

		R	DTS
AD12	San Francisco	16%	25%
AD13	San Francisco	12%	23%
AD16	Oakland	12%	17%
AD45	Los Angeles	16%	17%
AD48	Los Angeles	9%	11%
SD3	San Francisco	19%	20%
CD8	San Francisco	13%	24%
CD9	Oakland	12%	16%
CD33	Los Angeles	13%	14%

Growing districts

Assembly and Senate districts are 14% larger than 10 years ago; congressional districts grew by 12%. California's behemoth size means state Senate districts contain more people than small states like Delaware or South Dakota.



A slice of Anaheim pie

Anaheim is California's 10th largest city, yet it is divided among five of the seven Assembly districts that serve Orange County. Anaheim is not the largest population center in any of the five districts.

DISTRICT	ANAHEIM % of AD
AD67	17.2%
AD68	7.8%
AD69	3.5%
AD71	1.0%
AD72	28.9%

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point/counterpoint

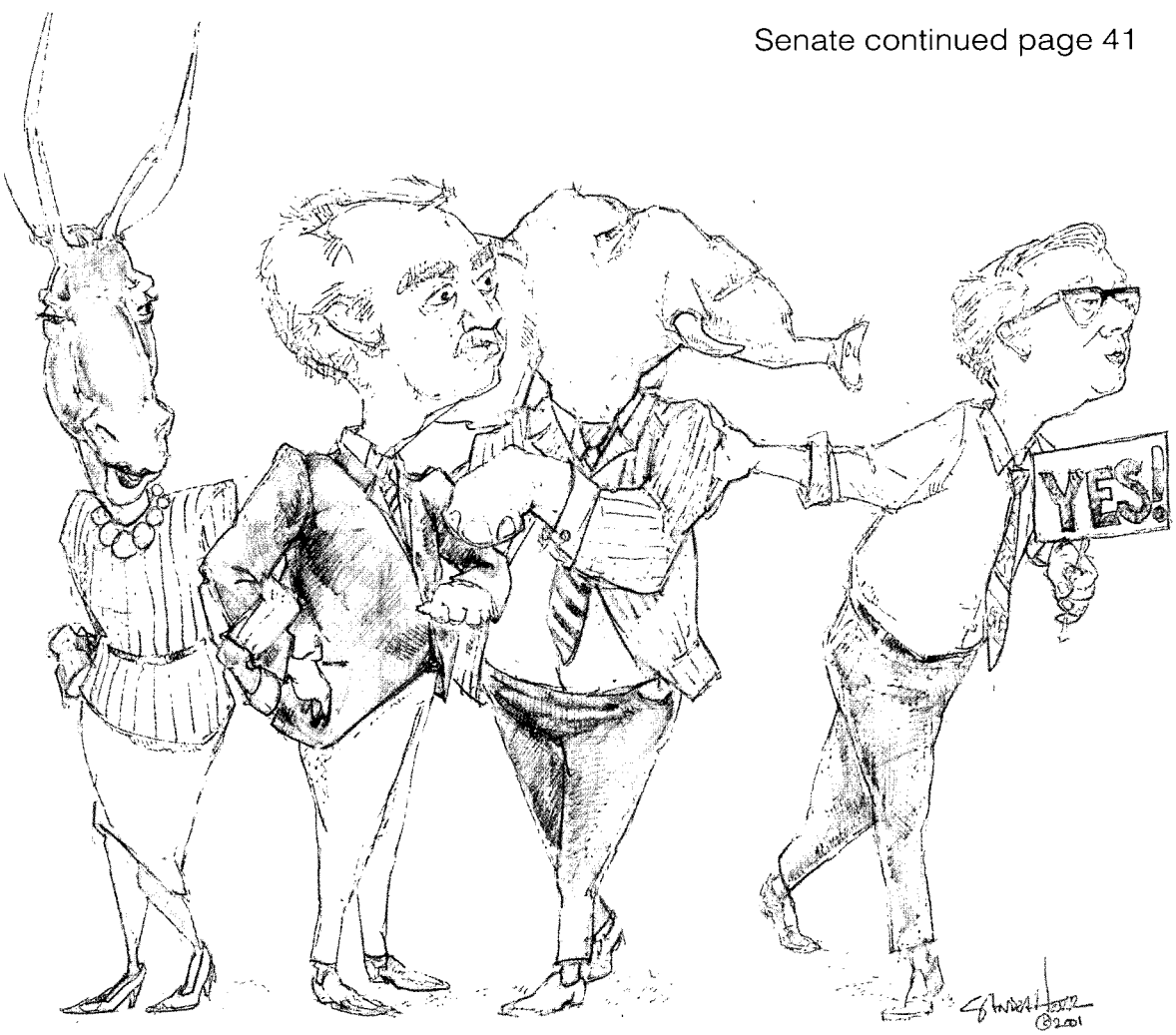
The redist dispute

By Senate redistricting staff and consultants

The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund's (MALDEF) lawsuit against the Legislature's 2001 redistricting plan is without legal merit and represents a long out-of-date perspective on the law and California politics. Challenging but three of 93 state Senate and congressional districts, the lawsuit is little more than a political smear directed towards the leadership of the state Legislature, Latino legislators and the consultants chosen to technically oversee the constitutionally mandated decennial redistricting. The facts speak for themselves:

The Legislature passed – and Governor Gray Davis signed — a redistricting statute that: 1) adheres precisely to the "one person-one vote" principle; 2) massively reduces (as required by the California Constitution) the number of unnecessarily split cities; 3) avoids a decade-long partisan war by garnering unprecedented bipartisan support; and 4) provides many additional opportunities for minorities to elect candidates of their choice. Twenty-three of the 26 Latino legislators (all seven senators and 16 of 19 Assembly members) voted in favor of it, and reasons for this support are obvious:

Senate continued page 41



Illustrations by Sandra Hoover

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ricting

No redistrict ng plan is without controversy. Usually, however, the dispute puts Democrats at odds with Republicans, as happened in 1981 (subject of a GOP-sponsored referendum) and 1991 (a deadlock that threw mapmaking to the California Supreme Court). In 2001, however, the squabble pits Democrats who control the process against a traditional ally — the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. *California Journal* has given each side in this dispute the opportunity to outline its arguments, now the subject of a court challenge *(Cano v. Davis)*.

By Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

Upholding a fair electoral process is fundamental to our inclusive democracy. Those in power who draw the district lines determine which communities will be able to elect representatives of their choice to federal, state and local offices. Even when Latinos were able to elect representatives who could reflect the needs and interests of their community, the Senate and congressional leadership refused to concede their grip on power, and instead chose to deny an equal voice to the Latino community. It is not a matter of special treatment and special consideration. If the community is denied a chance to elect candidates of its choice, its act of voting is undercut and the broader principle of civic

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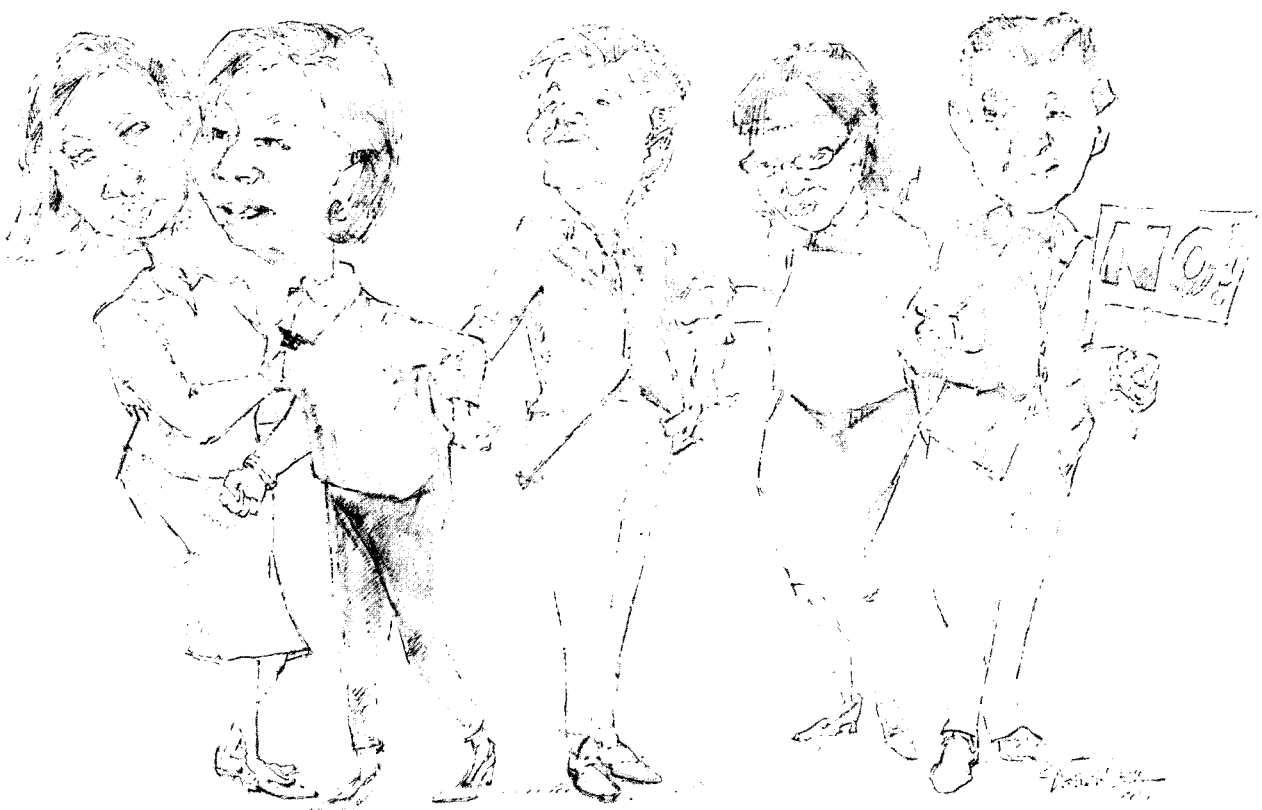

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participation is jeopardized.

At a redistricting conference held in the spring of 2001, former California Supreme Court Justice Cruz Reynoso noted that "Democracy is about the voters choosing their representatives, and redistricting is often about the representatives choosing their voters." Justice Reynoso's observations on the realities of redistricting were an ominously accurate prediction of events that unfolded in the weeks prior to passage of the plans.

Democrats and Republicans agreed to draw districts that protected most incumbents, even if it meant disregarding natural geography, city boundaries, and traditional neighborhoods.

Sadly, democratic principles were often a distant afterthought in the minds of legislators and their map-drawing consultants. Instead, Democratic and Republican incumbents alike were preoccupied with protecting their political aspirations and assuaging their political fears. Democrats and Republicans agreed to draw districts that protected most incumbents, even if it meant disregarding natural geography, city boundaries, and traditional neighborhoods. In general, the incumbents who were protected voted in favor of the plans, while those who were not voted against the plans.

Even more disturbing were the instances where minority communities in congressional districts, approved by the California Supreme Court in 1991, were calculatedly divided to protect incumbents. The residents of the previously box-shaped congressional district in northeast San Fernando Valley were separated into two oddly shaped districts for no other reason than that they were Latino voters. (Undivided, Latino voters dominated the district and threatened the Anglo incumbent.) Similarly, the residents of the Logan Heights community of San Diego were moved into a neighboring non-Latino congressional district for no other reason than that they were Latino voters who pushed the Latino registration above the comfort level for an Anglo incumbent. The incumbents were protected; the voters were divided.

The most-often cited justification for the plans is that many of the Latino legislators approved the maps. Again, with the exception of a handful of principled legislators who were offended by the process, the driving issue behind each legislator's vote was incumbency, not the rights of voters; the incumbents who were protected voted in favor of the plans.

The Assembly and Senate leadership made numerous commitments that the 2001 redistricting would offer unprecedented public involvement in a fair and transparent process. Over the summer, the Senate and the Assembly leadership held committee hearings throughout the state where the public was asked to define their communities and recommend district boundaries.

Yet, at the same time, congressional Democrats were asked to kick in $20,000 each to hire a map-drawer to protect their interests. If protecting the incumbency of those who paid the retainer required illegally splitting Latino communities to make their vote ineffectual, it was done. The Senate hired the same mapmaker to draw its map.

Despite all promises about openness, when it came time to release the maps and pass the plans, those in power in the Senate, along with their consultants, thwarted the ability of the public to meaningfully participate in the redistricting process. They only gave the public four days, over the Labor Day weekend, to review congressional plans. This was a formidable task even for organizations poised with mapping experts, waiting to download the plans and ready to work around the clock to prepare meaningful comment. September 5, 2001, was the last day for the public to provide input, effectively amounting to no opportunity for the general public.

After foreclosing further public testimony, the Legislature continued to change and amend the redistricting plans. Senate leadership and their consultants declined to accept any compromise that would increase Latino community strength in any of the districts above "acceptable" levels — ceilings that would ensure insufficient Latino voting power to threaten an incumbent. At no point did voters have an opportunity to publicly comment on any of the changes that were made. Contrary to the congressional and Senate plans, the Assembly plan, while not perfect, was based on a more open and inclusive process, where many community concerns were acknowledged and reflected in the final outcome.

When legislators will not protect voting rights, it falls upon voters to enforce those rights in court. Congressional and federal court law long ago established that it is unlawful intentional discrimination to split a minority community in order to prevent them from electing a candidate of choice. Unlawful intentional denial of voting power is no less illegal because it was done to protect incumbents. Latino voters in the San Fernando Valley and in San Diego, along with organizations that promote voter registration and voting rights, represented by MALDEF, brought their case to court.

Some legislators argue that there is no need for the protection of federal voting law in California because we are a multi-cultural society that votes

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across racial lines. The truth is that voters in California are not color-blind. In districts where Anglos cast a majority of votes, Latino candidates lose virtually every time. Plans that do not take that reality into account are unfair and illegal.

The voter-plaintiffs in the lawsuit do not ask for guarantees. They ask for compliance with voting rights laws and the Constitution. They demand equal opportunity to elect a candidate of choice. They object to casting their vote in districts drawn with the specific intent to diminish their collective voting power. They do not seek to disrupt elections in the entire state. They simply ask the court to halt elections in the small number of congressional and Senate districts that illegally split Latino voting communities.

Any redistricting plan that selectively and blatantly denies fair and equal representation to the largest minority group in California threatens to undo the gains in voting rights achieved over decades of advocacy and education. The moral of the story is simple: The self-interested priorities of incumbents are not above the law.

MALDEF's view was written by Amadis Velez, its attorney for plaintiffs in Cano v. Davis. *Comments may sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

Senate
Continued from page 38

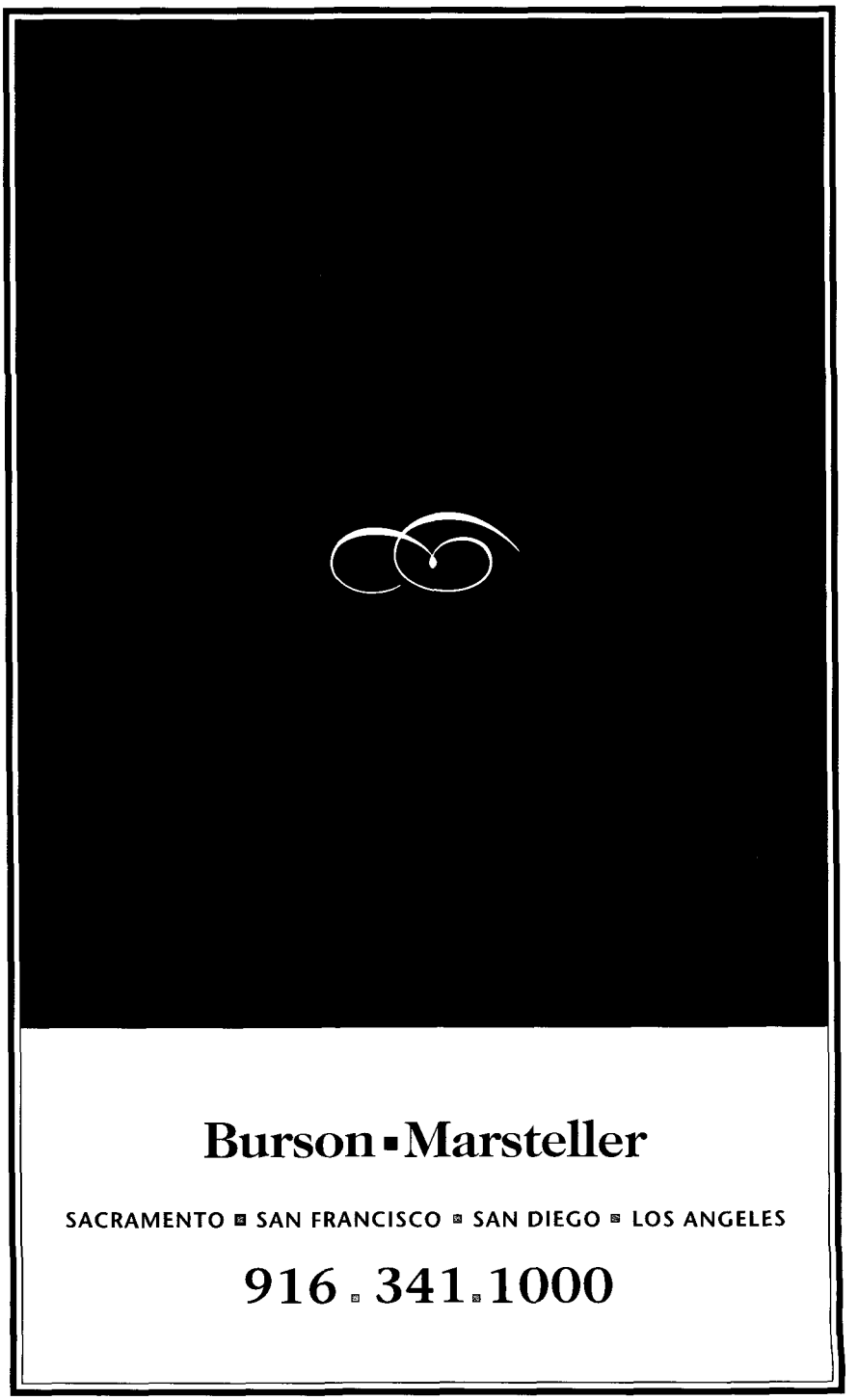
• The four Latino-held Senate and congressional districts with the weakest partisan base are significantly strengthened Two state Senate seats held by term-limited Anglo senators will, in all likelihood, elect new Latino senators in November 2002.

• California's new congressional seat (CD 39) is located in southeast Los Angeles County and is 61 percent Hispanic. It affords an immediate opportunity to elect a Latino to Congress.

• Three additional state Senate districts and three additional congressional districts have large percentages of Hispanics and present a high likelihood for Latino success during the next decade. This makes a total of 22 Senate and congressional districts (up from 13 that are a majority or will be a majority Latino.

The California Senate contracted with consultants to draft the Senate and Board of Equalization plans and to analyze Assembly and congressional redistricting plans. As explicitly allowed in their Senate contract, these same consultants were sought out and hired by the California Democratic congressional delegation (all 32 Democratic members signed contracts) to submit a redistricting proposal to both houses of the Legislature. All roles were clearly disclosed and approved in advance. Legislators (not consultants) were in charge of the process from beginning to end.

The lawsuit's main target, the San Fernando Valley congressional district represented by Representative Howard Berman, is a 55.6 percent Latino district. This new district configuration



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voted for both Antonio Villaraigosa and Rocky Delgadillo over their Anglo competitors in the recent Los Angeles city elections. To suggest this classic liberal minority coalition district does not afford Latinos an opportunity to elect a candidate of choice is preposterous and suggests that MALDEF is engaged in a personal vendetta against the brother of one of the redistricting consultants.

MALDEF would have you believe that Latinos lack diversity and are homogeneous in thought and action. But 32 percent of the Hispanics in Berman's district are people who identify themselves as coming from a non-Mexican country of origin. MALDEF persists in promoting the belief that people of the same skin color think and act alike. But this stale idea is belied by ASOSAL (the Salvadoran Association of Los Angeles), which opposes MALDEF and has intervened on behalf of the Legislature.

The 51st Congressional District, represented by Representative Bob Filner (D-San Diego), also is a target of MALDEF's lawsuit — despite the fact that MALDEF explicitly endorsed this district in a letter to members of the Legislature prior to the vote on the plan (AB 632). Of course MALDEF endorsed this district; it is more Latino in every measure of Latino voting strength than was the Filner district MALDEF proposed in a plan it submitted.

MALDEF's attack on the Legislature's timing and hearing process is disingenuous. Never has a redistricting proposal undergone so much scrutiny and been subject to so much public input. A two-day, televised, joint interactive hearing (following five Senate and seven Assembly hearings) brought comments and public input from across California. MALDEF's representatives dominated those hearings.

MALDEF is stuck (or at least claims to be stuck) in a 20-year "time warp" regarding California's openness to electing Latino candidates. Of the 33 partisanly elected Latinos (one lieutenant governor, six members of Congress, seven state Senators and 19 Assembly members) 25 were elected from districts that had less than 50 percent Latinos on the registration rolls. California is not the rural south. Successful Latino politicians such as Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante, state Senators Debra Ortiz and Liz Figueroa and four Latino Republican Assembly members clearly demonstrate that strong Latino candidates are readily accepted by California's increasingly open and diverse electorate.

The 1993 U.S. Supreme Court holding in *Johnson v. DeGrandy* conclusively disposes of MALDEF's claims against the Legislature's redistricting proposals. The six-member court majority (including Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg) reinstated a legislature's redistricting statute that had failed to maximize the minority voting strength of every possible district.

" ... [T]here are communities in which minority citizens are able to form coalitions with voters from other racial and ethnic groups, having no need to be a majority within a single district in order to elect candidates of their choice...," the Court opinion stated.

MALDEF is well aware of these facts. Why would a civil-rights organization waste precious resources to slay a nonexistent dragon? MALDEF submitted its own congressional and Senate plans. They were rejected by the Legislature — Latino and non-Latino alike — in part because they were one dimensional race-based plans that harmed the election opportunities of many female and black incumbents. Senator Don Perata, chairman of the Elections and Reapportionment Committee, was the architect of the congressional and Senate redistricting, but AB 632 was carried in the Assembly by Assemblyman Gil Cedillo (D-Los Angeles).

Referring to the breadth of Latino legislative support, Cedillo said: "This is significant and very positive, because it is distinguished from our recent past, when our communities have had to depend on the courts or advocacy groups outside the legislative process to ... protect the rights of groups in our society. And so today things are different. We, the voting representatives — the representatives of the communities who have sent us here — can speak directly for our communities to safeguard their democratic rights through the representative process. This direct power and participation marks a new era of openness and democracy for us, one in which we need not insist that we are so powerless that we must take our grievances to other non-representative institutions."

As state Senators Marta Escutia and Gloria Romero wrote in the *Los Angeles Times*: "... Latinos need not limit themselves to only seek office in 'safe Latino districts.' We should not relegate ourselves to only a few court-imposed barrios. Our success lies in reaching all Californians and loudly proclaiming that the Latino agenda is (and should be) the American agenda..."

Never has a redistricting proposal undergone so much scrutiny and been subject to so much public input.

The Legislature's view was written by Senate redistricting staff and consultants. Comments on this article may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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Richard Riordan

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

In the last six gubernatorial elections, three "Big City" mayors have used their visible, well-populated launching pads to make the race for California governor. Now, former Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan has tossed his hat into the 2002 gubernatorial ring. Will his two-term tenure as mayor of the state's largest city help him or hurt him in his statewide race?

In 1978, Pete Wilson, then the moderate Republican mayor of San Diego, stumbled badly in his first try for the office, coming in fourth in his party's primary. In 1990, he came out of the U.S. Senate, buoyed by a united Republican base, to go all the way against Democrat Dianne Feinstein, former mayor of San Francisco.

In 1982, then-LA Mayor Tom Bradley easily won the Democratic nomination but was defeated by Republican Attorney General George Deukmejian that fall, and again in 1986.

For all three mayors, service as an urban chief executive was *not* enough to propel them into high state office. As they always do, other factors intervened — the political environment and issues, the economy, luck, timing, candidate personality, race, gender, money and campaign operation.

In addition, as Garry South, incumbent Governor Gray Davis' political advisor, points out, in 150 years no LA mayor has ever won a gubernatorial race. Nonetheless, it is instructive to look at the Riordan candidacy through the prism of LA. Riordan went beyond his Republican Party base to win election in a city whose registration is nearly three-to-one Democratic and that is — or should be — a core Davis constituency.

In 1993 Riordan handily defeated liberal Democratic City Councilman Michael Woo, the presumptive heir to Bradley's bi-racial coalition, to become LA's first GOP mayor in 32 years. He won 43 percent of the Latino vote and beat Woo, a Democratic campaign lynchpin from Davis' political home. He also drew the support of more than half the union members voting.

In 1997, Riordan won a landslide re-election victory against Democrat Tom Hayden, then a state senator, garnering roughly 61 percent of the vote. According to an exit poll, Riordan took 60 percent of the then-record Latino turnout, maintained a 9-to- edge among Republicans, split the Democratic vote and took nearly 60 percent of independents, almost two-thirds of the Westside and three-fourths of San Fernando Valley voters.

It is instructive to look at the Riordan candidacy through the prism of Los Angeles.

In both elections, Riordan showed significant weakness only among African-Americans, a loyal Democratic constituency. That vulnerability could have interesting implications if the 2002 campaign pits centrist Riordan, who has built winning coalitions without black votes, against centrist Davis, who will have to court those voters.

In the gubernatorial primary, however, Riordan's identification with LA, the poster-city for the Democrats' liberal coalition, could prove to be a handicap with many GOP faithful. While Riordan's moderate Republicanism has been attractive to Angelenos, it may not play in Orange County's GOP bastions.

Just the image of LA as the epitome of urbanization rankles many in rural and suburban California, a possible primary problem that could carry over to the general. Still, preliminary polling has indicated that Riordan is giving Davis a hard run among moderate and swing voters in those areas.

And the old anti-LA bias could hamper Riordan in the north state, particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area. But San Francisco has long been a Democratic stronghold. Would Davis, in a general election campaign, find himself playing into some risky LA bashing of his own?

Every mayor comes with baggage. Mayors have records to defend, and Riordan is no exception. Questions of police misconduct, dysfunctional schools, funding screw-ups, and energy price gouging dog him.

And Secretary of State Bill Jones, another GOP gubernatorial contender, has already blasted Riordan for his contributions to Democrats — including Davis, a move Riordan justified as "geared to helping Los Angeles."

Nevertheless, the arithmetic of modern California politics suggests that Riordan's tenure as mayor has enhanced his position as the GOP frontrunner. He is moderate on social issues such as gun control and abortion rights, has demonstrated appeal to Latino voters and projected a bipartisan image.

And, overall, he has also had the good luck to preside over a city whose municipally owned utility kept humming along while Davis' approval ratings sputtered during the energy crisis.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe is a senior scholar at USC's School of Policy, Planning & Development. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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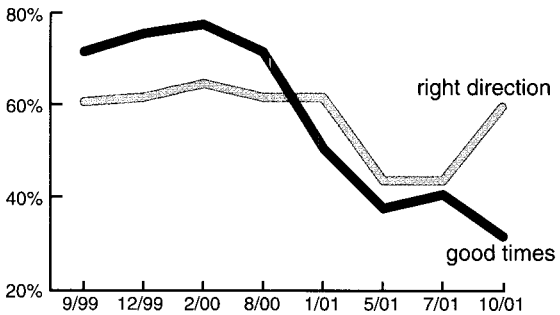
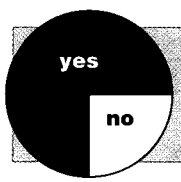
ELECTION 2002

California rallies around its leaders

Recently, Mark Baldassare found something he has never seen in his years as a California pollster. People are worried about their jobs, they believe the economy is weak and they're scared about terrorism. But when asked a standard polling question — Are things in California going in the right or wrong direction? — they answered with an affirmative. Clearly, the poll demonstrates one of the most remarkable after-effects of September 11—that we are heading toward hardship with the resolute confidence that it is the right thing to do.



This chart measures two questions that have always shown similiar trends — until now. One asks whether you see good or bad economic times ahead. The other asks whether we are headed in the right or wrong direction.

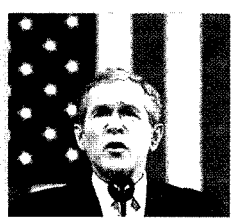


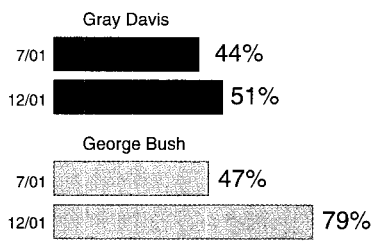
Want another contrast with the troubled economy? Support for a $2.6 billion environmental bond on the upcoming March ballot is running 3-to-1 in favor. Even 2/3 of the GOP likes it.

Bush wins California, finally

crosstabs

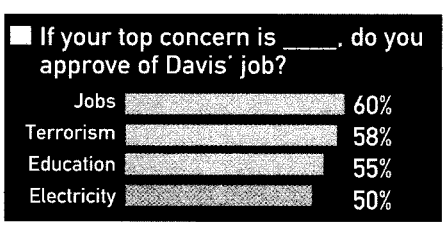
California's swelling pride is a powerful updraft for President Bush, who's had better relations with Russia than with California. Bush shifted a third of the state's population — and nearly half of the Democrats — from disapproving of his job performance last summer to approving it today. Governor Gray Davis, however, doesn't fare nearly as well. His scores are still good for an incumbent with a sagging economy. But the patriotic gust has barely lifted Davis above the halfway mark in job approval.

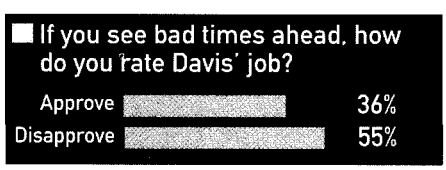




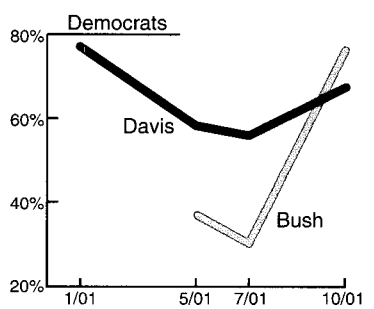
Just last July, fewer than half of Californians approved of Bush's job performance. Now, at 79% approval, his support here is almost the same as nationally.

Warning signs for Davis





Bush even outpolled Davis among California Democrats. So where's the governor's base? Davis scored slightly better south of LA than in the liberal Bay Area. And he did better among those who cited the economy and terrorism as their top priorities than he did among those whose main concern was education or electricity. But, perhaps, most important, much of Davis' approval comes from those who think we're heading in the right direction. Surely he's hoping the good feelings last.



Democrats have more than 7 million voters in California — and nearly half of them changed their minds about Bush since 9/11.

The Public Policy Institute of California's Statewide Survey, directed by Mark Baldassare, contacted 2,002 California adults 10/22-10/31 and 2,000 adults 11/26-12/4. Its sample error is +/- 2% overall and 2.5% for the registered voter interviewed. Compiled by CJ Editors.

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Planned Parenthood
Affiliates of California, Inc.

Providing responsible choices through advocacy and political action

We at Planned Parenthood are more conscious than ever before that freedom implies the ability to make responsible choices – choices that promote the health and well-being of an individual, a family, a community and our society.

Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California thanks the following legislators for their 100% responsible choices voting record during the 2001 legislative session:

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Barbara Boxer
Dianne Feinstein

U.S. House of Representatives

Xavier Becerra
Howard Berman
Lois Capps
Susan Davis
Calvin Dooley
Anna Eshoo
Sam Farr
Bob Filner
Jane Harman
Mike Honda
Stephen Horn
Tom Lantos
Barbara Lee
Zoe Lofgren
Robert Matsui
Juar ita Millender-McDonald
George Miller
Grace Napolitano
Nancy Pelosi
l ucille Roybal-Allard
Loretta Sanchez
Adam Schiff
Brad Sherman
Hilda Solis
Pete Stark
Ellen Tauscher
Mike Thompson
Maxine Waters
Henry Waxman
Lynn Woolsey

State Senate

Richard Alarcon
Dede Alpert
Debra Bowen
John Burton
Wesley Chesbro
Jim Costa
Joe Dunn
Martha Escutia
Liz Figueroa
Betty Karnette
Shelia Kuehl
Mike Machado
Bruce McPherson
Kevin Murray
Jack O'Connell
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Steve Peace
Don Perata
Richard Polanco
Gloria Romero
Jack Scott
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State Assembly

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Dennis Cardoza
Gil Cedillo
Ed Chavez
Judy Chu
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Ellen Corbett
Lou Correa
Manny Diaz
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Dario Frommer
Jackie Goldberg
Sally Havice
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Jerome Horton
Hannah-Beth Jackson
Fred Keeley
Christine Kehoe
Paul Koretz
Carol Liu
John Longville
Alan Lowenthal
Barbara Matthews
Carole Migden
George Nakano
Joe Nation
Gloria Negrete McLeod
Jenny Oropeza
Lou Papan
Fran Pavley
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Simon Salinas
Kevin Shelley
Joe Simitian
Darrell Steinberg
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To learn more about your legislator's voting record and the Planned Parenthood Responsible Choices Action Agenda visit the Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California Web site at

http://www.ppacca.org

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California and the GOP

by Marc Sandalow

Republicans are talking about holding their 2004 national convention in New York City.

Here's a better idea. Try Sacramento.

It's farm country. It's suburbia. It's the rugged West. It's Middle America. It's duck hunters. It's Starbucks Coffee drinkers.

And no, it's not going to happen.

Nevermind that its convention center would have trouble accommodating the CNN skybox, let alone oversized egos. It's not going to happen because national Republicans are not yet convinced they can make a stand in the Golden State.

For East Coast Republicans, California remains a mysterious political wasteland. There's money to be made on the West Coast fund-raising hustings, and the state is home to a core of stalwart conservatives.

But no state has been so cruel to the GOP over the past few elections. In 2000, the national party pumped more than $15 million into the state, only to lose four congressional seats and see their presidential nominee routed by 1.3 million votes. Expectations are so low that party officials in Washington were overjoyed when the California Legislature passed a redistricting plan last fall that, by most estimates, will net the Democrats only one extra seat.

Unlike other reliably Democratic states, such as Maryland or Hawaii, California is simply too big to write-off. But, national Republicans are awaiting a sign that the state GOP can win something before they invest their interest and their dollars. And that something is the governor's seat.

It is hard to overstate how important Governor Gray Davis' future is to the national outlook on California. If Richard Riordan, Bill Jones or William Simon inch close to Davis next summer, GOP sources say the party will come riding to the rescue, with visions of new congressional seats and even a Bush victory in 2004.

If Davis pulls away in the polls, it will be a lonely fall for the GOP.

"Until California Republicans can prove that we are capable of pulling ourself out of this ditch, Washington is going to keep its distance," said California GOP strategist Dan Schnur.

That sentiment is echoed in Washington where GOP officials publicly say they are working hard for California's affections but privately concede that their interest will be largely determined by next year's poll numbers.

The case against Republicans in California goes like this: The party is anti-choice, pro-guns and weak on the environment in a state that is pro-choice, anti-guns and places a high premium on conservation. They failed to come to the state's rescue during the electricity crisis, and they deeply insulted the state's Hispanic population in the 1990s.

California Republicans have worked step-by-step to try to erase each of those impressions, some being harder to dispel than others. Many believe the outreach to Latinos and moderates embraced by new party chairman Marc Racicot will pay dividends.

And now comes a golden opportunity wrapped in a horrible disaster. The events of September 11 have so totally shaken up the body politic that GOP strategists are convinced they can break through the Democrat's hammerlock. The public is now focused on war and safety, two issues which have traditionally favored Republicans. The president is suddenly popular, even in Democratic Northern California strongholds. Popular New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani may tour the state on behalf of Republican gubernatorial candidate Bill Simon.

""We are very excited about our prospects," said Rudy Fernandez, a spokesman for the Republican National Committee.

Democrats naturally sneer at such talk, pointing to last month's mayoral election in Houston, and the November governor contests in Virginia and New Jersey, where Republican candidates — each campaigning with White House support — all failed.

The bids to host the 2004 Republican National Convention won't be open until the end of the year. Aware that few voters could care less, party elders will nonetheless spend months selecting the city that they think best reflects the party's values.

Since September 11, New York is the sentimental favorite. If the party wants a shot at California's 55 electoral votes, it should consider Sacramento.

Marc Sandalow is Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Chronicle. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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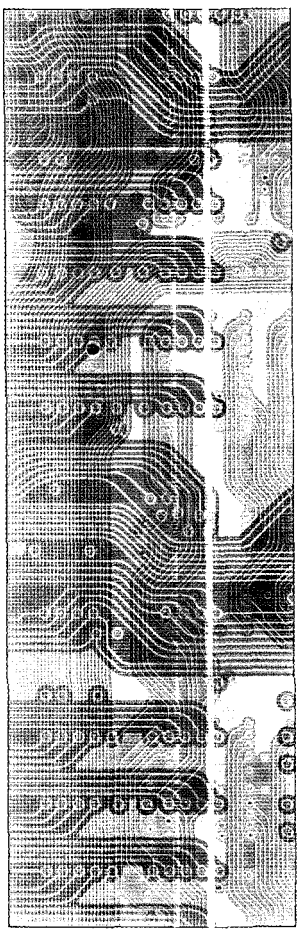

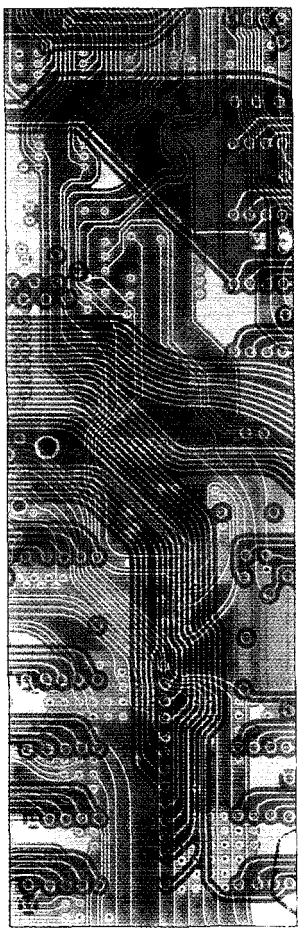

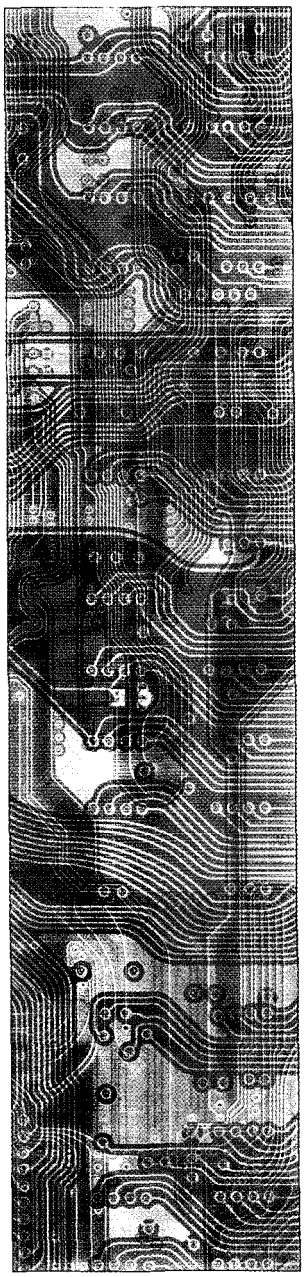

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